SYĀM-SANEHĪ

of

ĀLAM

Vol. One

सरनदास मनीत
स्याम स्नेही ; आलम कृत ; पी॰एच॰
डी॰ हिन्दी शोध प्रबंध १९५१.
२०० पृ॰ ल॰ म॰ २१ पं॰ प्र॰ पृ॰

ह॰ ल॰

mss. 523

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SYĀM-SANEHĪ
of
ĀLAM

A renowned Muslim poet of the Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya School-16th cen. A.D.

critically edited
for the first time from original
Mss., with Introduction, Critical
Notes and Appendices.

by

SARAN DĀSS BHANOT, M.A.
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VOLUME ONE

PREFACE.

The need for critical texts of important Sanskrit works was recognized long ago as a sine qua non for the study of the varied aspects of the life in ancient India. Classical Hindī occupies exactly the same position with regard to the medi-eval and Moghul periods. The need for the preserving the Classical Hindī Texts, therefore, is as living as that of Sanskrit. This need is bound to be felt all the more now that Hindi has been recognized as a state language.

Free India is pledged to the promotion of secular idealism which only the collective good-will of all of its communities can help to build and strengthen. For this the significance of all attempts to promote good-will among the different sections of the people is obvious. And this cause of good-will is bound to be helped by a proper appraisement of the efforts made by the different sections of the people in the past to understand and contribute to the common

culture of this great country. The present attempt is intended as a humble contribution to that end.

A good many of Muslim poets in the past have enriched our common culture and Ālam occupies no doubt a position of distinct honour amongst them. Though widely popular for long his fame has mainly rested so far on the exquisite beauty and music of his stray stanzas. The study of Syām Sanehī is bound to add to the estimation in which he has so far been held.

My attention to Syām-Sanehī was first drawn by a Gurumukhī Ms. of it in the Municipal Library of Patiala. The Ms. which has for its subject-matter a Paurāṇic story composed by a Muslim writer has been copied by a Sikh scribe in Gurumukhī script and is thus a glowing proof of the happy cordiality that prevailed amongst the various communities during the period when the self-seeking politicians had not yet stirred the

culture of this great country. The present attempt is intended as a humble contribution to that end.

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communal passions of the masses for their selfish ends. I consider it a privilege to draw attention to such proofs of cordiality which have many profitable lessons for us today.

The text of Syām-Sanehī was first sent to the press in June, 1947 but the whole of it perished in the fire of communal frenzy. Leaving everything behind we had to run for life. Even the memory of those days is painful. The whole Text had to be prepared afresh under most abnormal and trying circumstances and it is today with a feeling of genuine relief and thankfulness that I commend this humble effort of mine to the sympathetic attention of scholars.

I must take this opportunity to express my feeling of gratefulness to Dr. Bhawānī Śaṅkar Yājñik of Lucknow who very kindly made it possible for me to make full use of a Ms. of the poem with him. I am exceedingly thankful to the authorities of

the Municipal Library of Patiala- especially to its learned Executive Officer Śrī Sir Jang Bahādur - for the kind permission to reproduce in photo a specimen page of the Ms. My thanks are also due to Pandit Rām Nārāyaṇ Miśra, formerly Secretary of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā who gave me every facility during my short visit to Benares in course of search for more Mss for Syām-Sanehī. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Viśwa Nāth Prasād Miśra of the Hindu University who ungrudgingly helped me to collect material and gave many valuable suggestions with regard to the present work.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my revered teacher Dr. Banārsī Dās Jain M.A., Ph.D., formerly Reader in Hindī at the Punjab University, Lahore- whom I had to bother with every difficulty of mine. At considerable inconvenience he enabled me to discuss the major portion of the Introduction to the present work with him and greatly profit

from his expert knowledge of the subject. Without his encouraging advice at times when it was most needed it would have been really difficult to complete this work.

I am also greatly thankful to Messrs. Mehar Cand Lakṣman Dass, formerly of Said Mithā, Lahore, for having undertaken to publish the text at a very difficult time for the firm.

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Ist February, 1951.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

SS	Syām-Sanehī.
AK	Ālam-Keli.
MK	Mādhavānal-Kām-Kandalā.
NPR	Report on the search of Hindī Mss.published by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Benares.
NPS.	Nagari Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Benares.
RM	Rukmiṇī-Mangal of Nand Dās.
RP	Rukmiṇī-Pariṇaya of Raghu Rāj Sinh

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I

DESCRIPTION OF Mss.

The present edition of Syām-Sanehī is based upon four Manuscripts named PAT, PUL, LUC and BEN. A detailed description of these Mss. is as follows:-

Ms. PAT - This Ms. was acquired from the Municipal Public Library Patiala. It contains 171 leaves, the size of each leaf being 5.9"x 3.3". With the exception of the first two and the last page containing four lines each the Ms. has six lines to each page. It is written in the Guru-Mukhī Script and begins with the following words:

श्रीं सतिगुर प्रसादि स्वस्ति श्री गणेसाय नमः ।
अथ स्याम सनेही लिख्यते आलम क्रिति ।

From the script and the beginning of the Ms. it may be concluded that the scribe was probably a Sikh gentleman. This fact indirectly throws light on the interest taken

by some Sikh writers in the study of Hindī poetry*. The Ms. is complete and is written in a fine legible hand. But it gives neither the name of the scribe nor the date of copying. From the general condition of the Ms. however it appears to be about 100 years old, though an estimate in such a case is always hazardous.

All the stanzas in the Ms. are named and numbered, the total number of stanzas being 184. Every doharā (dohā) is followed by a caupaī (caupāī) consisting of a unit of eleven ardhālis. The order of eleven ardhālis forming a unit is more or less maintained throughout the Ms. Very few units contain more than eleven ardhālis.

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* While at Lahore the present Editor had noticed about 500 Gurumukhī Mss. in the Punjab University Library. The majority of them were transcriptions of standard Hindī works like the Bhāgavata, Rām-carit-mānas, Bihārī Satsaī, Vrind Satsai etc.

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Pure tatsama forms are usually avoided. Words generally end in short इ or उ such as साथि, बराति बहुतु, छिनु, आनंदु, गनेसु, महेसु, नामु, अलपु, मनु, सुरि In addition to this there is a general tendency towards inserting short इ in place of short अ within a word itself. Thus नक्षत्र, कनक, महल, कलस are found written as नछित्र, कनिक, महिल, and कलिस respectively. Similarly in words such as अउरु, नउतन, गउरि, etc. औ or अव is written as अउ . सब is written as सम almost throughout. ढ is generally written as ड़ . For example the Ms. reads पढ़ी for पढी मूढ़ for मूढ and गूढ़ for गूढ . The Ms. is on the whole comparatively free from grammatical and metrical defects. It ends thus:

इति श्री स्याम सनेही आलम क्रिति भाखा समाप्तं सुभमस्तु ।

Ms. PUL - This Ms. is from the Punjab University Library Lahore. It is incomplete and begins with परसराम बहुरो अवतरे i.e. the 7th line of caupai 32. Thus the first 31 stanzas and the first 6 lines of caupai 32 are missing.

The Ms. is dated Vikram Samvat 1717 and bears the name of the copyist. It ends thus:

संवत १७१७ विरषै मिती ज्यैष्ठ वदि ७ सनिवारि पोथी लिखीसि पाहा विचिम्य संत ब्राह्मण। प्रागदास सुत वासी फतेपुरी।. चतरादास ठाकुरदासाणीजी। जति जगा। स्याम सनेही लिखी। सुम भवत कल्याणु ।। १ ।। अगरे मूरते समूरतु।

From the use of विरषै for वर्षै in the date the copyist would seem to have hailed from Marwar. The Ms. is not very carefully written and is not quite legible at several places.

As in the Ms. PAT, all the stanzas are numbered and contain the names of the metres employed therein. The doharā of PAT is shown as Dohā and caupaī as caupai throughout the Ms. The preceding dohā and the following unit of caupais both bear the same number. Thus while the concluding stanza in the Ms.PAT is numbered 184 it is numbered 92 in this Ms. The order of eleven ardhālis forming a unit is not strictly adhered to in this Ms. Several

units contain more than that number. A number of ardhālis appear in an order different from that in the Ms. PAT and some lines are found omitted here and there. In several places it presents a confused and conflicting orthography and abounds in scribal mistakes.

Like the Ms. PAT it also reads सब as सभ and ढ as ड़ . When combined with a preceding consonant र् is often written as ऋ , e.g. कृम is given for क्रम. Again ऋ when combined with a preceding consonant is usually written with an additional short इ eg. कृष्ण, नृप , अमृत, are written as कृिष्ण, नृिप and अमृित respectively.*
Pure tatsama forms which are generally avoided in the Ms. PAT occur more frequently in this Ms. For example भगति, ब्रह्म, and निंद्रा of PAT are found in this Ms. as भक्ति ब्रह्म, and निद्रा respectively.

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* This is probably due to a tendency which can still be noticed in certain parts of the country to pronounce ऋ as र. For instance in Gujrāt many people pronounce कृष्ण as क्रष्ण and क्रपा for कृपा , and so on. With a view to reproduce faithfully the pronunciation of Kṛṣṇa therefore an additional short इ would also be shown by the scribe.

पुनि, is written as फुनि . Similarly औ and अव are not shown as अउ गउरि अउतारा and अउर of PAT are found as गौरि, अवतारा and अवर respectively.

Ms. LUC - A copy of this Ms. was obtained from Śriyut Dr. B.S.Yājñik of Lucknow. The Ms. bears the number 61/22 and contains 58 leaves. The date of copying is given as Vikram Samvat 1775 and the name of the scribe as Ḍāl Cand. Its colophon reads thus:

इति श्री आलमकृत स्यामसनेही भाषाकृत संपूरन । सुभमस्तु ।
सुभं भवतु । संवत् १७७५ मिति फाल्गुन वदि ६ शुक्रवार
को संपूरन भई । जैसी देषी तैसी लिषी । दसषत डालचंद
ब्राह्मण के, पोथी दलीप साह की । शुभमस्तु ।

The stanzas in this Ms. are not numbered. With the exception of the first stanza all others do not also contain the names of the metres employed. The Ms. is complete but certain portions are found missing in its body. For example the portion beginning with the 4th line of stanza 18 and ending with the 20th line of stanza 22 is entirely omitted. Similarly stanzas 164-166 and the first six lines of stanza 167 are missing. On the

other hand there appear to be a number of additions and interpolations also. For instance the ardhāli गवरि पूजा etc. added after 17.16 is obviously a later interpolation for besides disturbing the order of 11 ardhālis to a unit it merely repeats the idea of the two subsequent lines. In many places the order of ardhālis also differs from that in PAT.

The form सम, of PAT and PUL is given as सब, in this Ms. and words like पढी, चढत, मूढ गूढ etc. contain ढ instead of ड़ of PAT and PUL. क्रिस्न, of PAT and कृष्ण, of PUL are shown as किस्न, in this Ms. गउरि, of PAT or गौरि of PUL is generally written as गवरि. The word कमल of PAT and PUL is often written as कंवल, and रुकम, and रुकमनि, as रुकुम and रुकुमिनि respectively. Comparatively pure tatsama forms are to be found more in this Ms. than in PUL.

Ms. BEN - This in fact is a report of some Mss. and does not contain the whole text of Syām-Sanehī. It gives only some portions of

other hand there appear to be a number of omissions and interpolations also. For instance the words नाधिगच्छति etc. added after 17.13 is obviously a later interpolation for besides disturbing the metre of the ardhālī as a unit it merely repeats the idea of the two subsequent lines. In many places the order of ardhālīs also differs from that in PAT.

[illegible] of PAT and PUL is given as [illegible] in this Ms. and words like [illegible] [illegible] instead of [illegible] of PAT and PUL. [illegible] PAT and [illegible] of PUL are [illegible] in this Ms. [illegible] of PAT or [illegible] is generally written as [illegible]. The [illegible] of PAT and PUL is often written [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] comparatively more defects [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] than in PUL.

[illegible] PUL - This in fact is a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the text by way of quotations. These portions ordinarily agree with those of PAT and PUL. Inspite of my best efforts the Ms. reported could not be obtained.

The Mss. PUL and LUC both are dated. PUL being dated the Vikram Samvat 1717 is the oldest and nearest to the date of the author. Generally the oldest Ms. is taken to be more reliable. But in some cases a later Ms. may prove to be more trustworthy when it is transcribed from an earlier proto-type. For constituting the present text I have made PAT as my primary base for collation, latest though it may appear from its general condition. This is because this ms. gives the text in its entirety and has preserved comparatively purer forms of Avadhī and is also relatively free from the scribal lapses and over-writing and thus is more reliable. In other Mss. the text appears to be defective at several places

where exact meaning can not be made out.

With PAT as the primary base I have given the variants from other Mss. below. Wherever the reading in PAT is illegible or defective and does not make suitable sense I have selected one from other Mss. and given the PAT reading below. In cases where all the Mss. disagree with regard to a particular reading, grammar, metre and general style of the author have been taken into consideration for selecting a reading. The following few examples will illustrate the method which I have followed in editing the present text:-

In 1.6 PAT reads बिभूतनि for the LUC reading बिभूति. The reading of PAT is defective firstly because it does not make sense here and secondly because it does not meet the requirements of metre which needs a reading of three syllables instead of four. Hence the reading बिभूति of LUC has been selected and बिभूतनि, of PAT has been recorded below.

In 2.6 the reading निरधार of PAT does not suit the metre which requires lengthening of the first syllable. The reading निर्धार of LUC is therefore accepted.

In 9.5 PAT reads सावनकी for the reading सावकी of LUC. The former reading is incorrect as it gives the meaning of the month Sāvan (Skt. Śrāvaṇa) and cannot be construed with मोर and कुहकी . The LUC reading सावकी (Skt. शावकी) giving the sense of a young pea-hen is hence preferred. The scheme of the metre also supports this reading.

After 55.12 LUC reads two ardhālis असरन सरन ० and गुनमाला भूषण ० which are not found in PAT and PUL. They appear to be later additions as they disturb the order of the unit and do not add much to the sense. They are therefore recorded below and not included in the text.

After 66.8 LUC and PUL add an ardhāli आनंद कथा which also is probably a case of

In [illegible] the reading [illegible] of PAT does not suit the metre which requires lengthening of the first syllable. The reading [illegible] of LUC is therefore accepted.

In 5.8 PAT reads [illegible] for the reading [illegible] of LUC. The former reading is incorrect as it gives the meaning of the month Sravan (Skt. Śravaṇa) and cannot be construed with गति and [illegible]. The LUC reading [illegible] (Skt. [illegible]) giving the sense of a young [illegible] is hence preferred [illegible] also supports this reading.

After [illegible] LUC reads two ardhālis [illegible] are not found in PAT and [illegible]. They appear to be later additions as they disturb the order of the ardhālis and do not add much to the sense. They are therefore recorded below and not included in the text.

After [illegible] and [illegible] an ardhāli [illegible] which also is probably a case of

interpolation. It disturbs the scheme of 11 ardhālis to a unit and is also not supported by the context. It is likewise not included in the text.

In 66.9 PAT reads सत्र, and PUL सुत,. Both these readings are incorrect. The reading सत, of LUC in the sense of 'truth' is therefore accepted.

A word about the punctuation observed in the recording of the variants may not be out of place . Different variants for one and the same reading are seperated from each other by a semi-colon, the final variant being followed by a comma after which the variants for the next reading are recorded. Thus while a comma indicates that all the variants of the same reading have been recorded before it, a semi-colon means they are still being continued. This has been uniformly observed irrespective of its merits or demerits.

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interpolation. It disturbs the scheme of 11 syllables to a unit and is also not supported by the context. It is therefore not included in the text.

In [illegible] PAT reads [illegible] and PUL [illegible]. Both these readings are incorrect. The reading of [illegible] in the sense of 'truth' is therefore accepted.

A word about the punctuation observed in the recording of the variants may not be out of place. Different variants for one and the same reading are separated from each other by semi-colons, the final variant being followed by a comma after which the variants for the next reading are recorded. Thus while it becomes indicated that all the variants of the same reading have been presented separately, a semi-colon shows they are still being continued. This has been uniformly observed irrespective of [illegible] or demerits.

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C H A P T E R . . . II

THE AUTHOR OF SYĀM-SANEHĪ

SECTION 1 - The history of the controversy regarding Ālam.

The history of the controversy goes back to 1877 in which year was published from the Naval Kishore Press Lucknow the well known 'Saroj' of Thākur Śiv Sinh Sengar. This work which is a compliation based upon earlier anthologies like the 'Hazarā' of Kālidās and the Sundarī Tilak of Bhārtendu Hariścandra available to the author, treats of about 836 Hindī poets. It is the first Indian attempt to write a history of Hindī poetry, though the French writer Garcinde Tassy had already made a beginning in 1839 when the wrote his 'History of Hindustānī Literature'. To the Research Student of today the 'Saroj' is bound to appear extremely crude and unsatisfactory from every point of view.

Its information is often meagre and its chronology in several cases defective. Yet we must not forget that it was written at a time when the available material for research was practically nil. In fact it is doubtful if anything .. better could be produced under the circumstances in which it was written.

The 'Saroj' mentions a poet Ālam, gives Samvat 1712 as the date of his birth and quotes the following two stanzas as specimens of his poetry.

आलम ऐसी प्रीति पर, सरबस दीजे वारि ।
गुप्त, प्रकट कैसी रहै, दीजै कपट पिटारि ।। १ ।।

जानत औलि किताबन कों जे निसाफ के माने कहे हैं ते चीन्हे।
पालत ही इत आलम कों उत नीके रहीम के नाम कों लीन्हे।।
मौज़मशाह तुम्हैं करता करिबे को दिलीपति हैं वर दीन्हे ।
काबिल हैं ते रहैं कितहूं कहूं काबिल होत हैं काबिल कीन्हे ।।

शिवसिंह सरोज (नवलकिशोर प्रेस, लखनऊ), सप्तम संस्करण, सन् १९२६

it. Information is often meagre and its chronology in several cases defective. Yet we must not forget that it was written at a time when the available material for research was practically nil. In fact it is doubtful if anything better could be produced under the circumstances in which it was written.

The 'Saroj' mentions a poet Alam, gives Samvat 1712 as the date of his birth and quotes the following few [illegible] [illegible] of his poetry.

The 'Saroj' further tells us that Ālam was originally a Sanāḍhya Brāhmaṇ who falling in love with a muslim woman, a dyer by trade, had accepted Islam and that he remained for a long time in the service of Prince Muazzam - the Mozam Shāh of stanza No.2 above - the son of Emperor Shāh Jahān.* Shāh Jahān, however, had no son of that name. Mozam Shāh, therefore, must be identified with Prince Muazzam, the son and successor of Aurangzeb who ruled after him from 1707 A.D. to 1712 A.D. as Bahādur Shāh.

The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān (1889)

Dr. Grierson followed in 1889 with his 'The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān' which work according to himself

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* आलम कवि सं० १७१२ में उत्पन्न। पहले सनाढ्य ब्राह्मण थे, पीछे किसी रंगरेजिन के इश्क में मुसलमान होकर मुअज्जमशाह शाहजादे शाहजहान बादशाह की खिदमत में बहुत दिनों तक रहे। कविता बहुत सुन्दर है।

सरोज, सप्तम संस्करण १९२६ पृ० ३८०

The 'Tarikh' further tells us that [illegible] was originally a [illegible] Brahman who falling in love with a Muslim woman, a dyer by trade, had accepted Islam and that he remained for a long time in the service of Prince Muazzam - the Azam Shah of [illegible] - the son of Emperor Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan, however, had no son of that name. Azam Shah, therefore, must be identified with Prince Muazzam, the son and successor of Aurangzeb who [illegible] 1707 A.D. to 1712 A.D. [illegible] Shah.

The [illegible] Vernacular [illegible] of Hindustan (1889)	Dr. Grierson followed in 1889 with his

'The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan' which were according to himself

was principally based on the 'Saroj'*. His notice of Ālam** agrees with that of the 'Saroj' except that he gives 1700 A.D. as the year of the poet's birth which obviously is an unconscious slip. It clashes seriously with his own assumption of the poet's association with Muazzam who is known to have died in 1712 A.D. and who consequently could not have been the patron of the poet born only twelve years before his death. Obviously what the author intended was 1700 V.E. in lieu of 1700 A.D.

Although the author of the 'Saroj' had spoken of a collection of about 500 stanzas of Ālam lying with Munshī Devī Prasād of Ajmer there is nothing to prove that either he or Dr. Grierson had any first hand knowledge of any of Ālam's

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* Vide Notice 595, p. 128.

** Vide Notice 181, p.72

was principally based on his 'Ratna'. His notice of Azar* agrees with that of the 'Nikat' except that he gives 1700 A.D. as the year of the poet's birth which obviously is an unconscious slip. It clashes seriously with his own description of the poet's association with Nazzam who is known to have died in 1721 A.D. and who consequently could not have been the master of the poet born only twelve years before his death. Obviously what [illegible] 1720 A.D. is [illegible] of 1700 A.D.

Although the author of the 'Safina' and speaker of a collection of about 300 [illegible] present of Azar there is nothing to prove that either he or Dr. [illegible] had any first hand knowledge of any of Azar's

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* Vide Notice 207, p. 169.

** Vide Notice 121, p. 72

works. The first of Ālam's works to be reported to the literary world was the Ālam-Keli (AK) a Ms. of which was first reported in the annual report on the search of Hindī Mss. for the year 1903 published by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Benares in 1905. This Ms. of AK was dated 1753 V.E. which date did not disturb the previous assumption regarding Ālam. The belief in the existence of a single Ālam who was patronized by Prince Muazzam still held the field. The authorship of AK was credited to this protege of Muazzam.

N.P.R. (1904) : The Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Report (NPR) for the year 1904, published in 1907, announced the discovery of the work 'Mādhavānal-Kām-Kandalā'(MK) by a poet Ālam who according to this work itself flourished in 991 A.H* i.e.

* Some Mss. read 951 A.H. in place of 991 A.H. which, however, must be considered incorrect in view of the specific reference in the poem to Emperor Akbar and his minister Todar Mal.

works. The first of Alam's works to be reported to the literary world was the Alam-Keli (AK) a Ms. of which was first reported in the annual report on the search of Hindi Mss. for the year 1903 published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares in 1906. This Ms. of AK was dated 1053 A.H. which date did not disturb the previous assumption regarding Alam. The belief in the existence of a single Alam who was [illegible] still held [illegible] the authorship of AK was credited to this protege of Muazzam.

N.P.R. (1904)* The Nagari Pracharini Report (NPR) for the year 1904, published in 1907, recorded the discovery of the work 'Madhavanal-Kamakandala' (MK) by a poet Alam who according to this work itself flourished in 991 A.H. i.e.

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* Some Mss. read 1001 A.H. in place of 991 A.H. which, however, must be considered incorrect in view of the specific reference of the poem to Emperor Akbar [illegible] minister Todar Mal.

1583 A.D. The then Editor 'Śyām Sundar Dās wrote in his report that this Ālam the author of MK flourished during the reign of Akbar and consequently was different from another poet of the same name who was in the service of Prince Muazzam. Thus for the first time it was proclaimed that there were two Ālams instead of one viz. one the author of MK who was contemporaneous with Akbar, the other the author of AK who was a protege of Muazzam.

Miśra-Bandhu-' Vinod(1913) ' In 1913 was published the 'Vinod' of the Miśra brothers. It accepted the lead of the 'Saroj' in toto and accordingly assigned 1740 -1770 V.E. to Ālam, without taking any notice of MK, the discovery of which had been reported in NPR for the year 1904. The Yājñik trio* that was aware of the discovery of MK severely assailed this opinion of the

* Śrīyut Māyā Śaṅkar and his two nephews Prof. Jīwan Śaṅkar and R.S. Dr.Bhavānī Śaṅkar.

1285 A.H. The then editor [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in his report that this [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] under the [illegible] of Akbar and [illegible] was different from another poet of the same name who was in the service of Prince Muazzam. Thus for the first time it was [illegible] that there were two [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] viz. one the author of [illegible] who was contemporaneous with Akbar, the other the author of [illegible] who was a protege of Muazzam.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] published that [illegible] [illegible]

of the [illegible] brothers. It accepted the lead of the [illegible] in toto and accordingly assigned 1710 - 1770 V.S. to [illegible], without taking any notice of [illegible], the discovery of which had been reported in [illegible] for the year 1904. The [illegible] [illegible] that was aware of the discovery of [illegible] severely [illegible] this opinion of the

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

'Vinod' in the columns of the Maryādā of April 1915 and re-iterated their stand in the Mādhurī of December 1924. They expressed themselves strongly against Ālam being associated with Muazzam instead of Akbar on the basis of a single stanza of doubtful authenticity, (जानत औलि) cited by the 'Saroj'. There is no double entendre according to them in that oft-quoted stanza. The word Ālam there means nothing more than 'the world' and has no reference to any poet of that name. With evidence drawn from the 'Dohā-sār-Saṅgrah' the Yājñik authors were able to prove that the poetry of Ālam had been popular definitely before 1710 V.E., the year of composition of that work.

NPR. 1909-11, NPR for the years 1909-11 published in 1914 noticed another work of Ālam i.e. 'Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā'. This

work was attributed to the author of AK who was distinguished from the author of MK (vide NPR 1903).

Kavitā Kaumudī (1917)

Rām Nareś Tripāṭhī in his Kavitā Kaumudī published in 1917 went back to the lead of the 'Saroj', conceding, of course without argument, the existence of only a single Ālam the contemporary of Muazzam. In a way he beat the earlier supporters of the 'Saroj', for he fathered the authorship of MK also on the protege of Muazzam. He was in all probability writing on mere heresay. It is amusing to find that this view of his, untenable even at its inception and then long since exploded should be found repeated in the seventh edition of the Kavitā Kaumudī published in 1946.

Keay's 'History of Hindī Literature' (1920) and Bhagwān Dīn's Editio Princeps of AK (1922)

F.E.Keay in his 'A History of Hindī Literature' merely

re-affirmed the view of the 'Saroj' and the 'Vinod' without critically examining them. And so did Bhagwān Dīn in his introduction to the Editio Princeps of AK which he published in 1922 on the basis of a Ms. of 1753 V.E. secured from the Sarasvatī Bhandār Benares.

The 'Vivaraṇ' of NPS(1923) — The Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā (NPS) published in 1923 its consolidated catalogue of Hindī Mss. discovered during the period 1900-1911 under the title of हस्तलिखित हिन्दी पुस्तकों का संक्षिप्त विवरण The 'Vivaraṇ' assigned Ālam to C 1753 V.E., gave Muazzam as his patron and ascribed to him the authorship of AK, MK and Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā. It is strange that the Editor should have subscribed to this in view of his own findings published in NPR for the year 1904.

The Yājñiks attacked this view of the 'Vivaraṇ' in the 'Mādhurī' of June 1929 and reiterated their views in the

re-affirmed the view of the 'Dates' and the 'Vinod' without critically examining them. And so did Bhagwan Lal in his introduction to the Editio Princeps of it which he published in 1892 on the basis of a Ms. of 1753 V.S. secured from the Sarasvati Bhandar [illegible].

[illegible] 'Vivaran' of NPS(1923)

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha (NPS) published in 1923 its consolidated catalogue of Hindi Mss. discovered during the period [illegible] under the title [illegible]



The 'Vivaran' assigned him to c 1723 V.S., gave [illegible] as his patron and ascribed to him the authorship of [illegible] and [illegible]. It is strange that the editor should have subscribed to this in view of his own findings published in NPR for the year 1904.

The Yajnika [illegible] this view of the 'Vivaran' in [illegible] of [illegible] 1923 and reiterated [illegible] in the

December issue of the same year.

'Hindi Ke Musalmān Kavi' (1926) : Gaṅgā Prasād Sinh in his 'Hindī Ke Musalmān Kavi' published from Benares in 1926, accepting the view of the Yājñik scholars assigned the authorship of AK, MK and a collection of miscellaneous stanzas to Ālam, the contemporary of Akbar, with whom he also associated the romance with Sheikh.

'Vinod' - 2nd Edition (1927) : In 1927 the 'Vinod' went through its second edition. This time the Editors modified their previous stand regarding Ālam. In fact this modification was long overdue. They expressed themselves this time in favour of associating Ālam with Akbar's reign. and in view of the evidence of the 'Saroj' conceded the possibility of there being two poets of the same name Ālam. But they did not discuss further the implications of this possibility.

December issue of the same year.

| Hindi ke Musalmān | Gaṅgā Prasād Siṅgh in his
| Kavi (1926) | 'Hindī ke Musalmān Kavi',

published from Benares in 1926, accepts a the view of the Hindī scholars as regards the authorship of ĀK, MK and a collection of miscellaneous stanzas to Ālam, the contemporary of Akbar, with whom he also associated the romance with Sheikh.

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'Hindī Sāhitya Kā Itihās(1929) and 'Hindī Śabda Sāgar' (Bhūmikā Bhāg)Vol.VIII (1929).

In 1929 NPS published the 'Hindī Sāhitya Kā Itihās' by Ācārya Rām Candra Śukla and the eighth volume of the'Hindī Śabda Sāgar' comprising its introduction. Both of them strangely enough reiterated the totally obsolete view of there being a single Ālam associated with Muazzam who wrote not only AK and a large number of Stray stanzas ~~of~~ on erotic subjects but also MK.

'Hindi Bhāṣā aur' Sāhitya'(1930)

Śyām Sundar Dās in his 'Hindī Bhāṣā Aur Sāhitya' which first appeared in 1930 and later in a revised and enlarged form in 1937 assigned to Ālam a place at the fag-end of the Rīti School without giving much detail or argument. He once again failed to profit by his own findings published in NPR for the year 1904.

'Hindi Sāhitya Kā Vivecanātmak Itihās' (1931)

Dr. Sūryakānta also - who published his 'Hindi Sāhitya Kā Vivecanātmak Itihās' in 1931 - did not take any notice of MK and only repeated the statement of the author of the 'Saroj' and Dr. Grierson.

'Musalmānon Kī Hindī Sevā' (1935)

Thākur Kamal Dhārī Sinh Kamaleś in his 'Musalmānon Kī Hindī Sevā' which was published in 1935, for the first time put forward the view that MK and AK were the works of one and the same Ālam who flourished in the 16th century (C.1620 V.E) He was able to take this courageous stand which meant definitely a breaking away from the 'Saroj' on the basis of the evidence of the 'Dohā-Sār-Saṅgrah' to which the attention of the scholars had already been drawn by Māyā Śankar Yājnik many years ago and which always had been ignored by them.

'Hindī Sāhitya Kā Ālocanātmak Itihās' (1938) and 'Kavi Aur Kāvya' (1941)

Dr. Rām Kumār Varmā in his 'Hindī Sāhitya Kā Ālocanātmak Itihās' published in 1938 and 'Hindī Sāhitya Kā Aitihāsik Anuśīlan' published in 1946, Ācārya Rām Candra Śukla in the revised and enlarged edition of his 'Hindī Sāhitya Kā Itihās' published in 1940, Gaṇeś Prasād Dvivedī in his 'Kavi Aur Kāvya' Vol.III published in 1941, and the Editor of NPR for the years 1923-25 published in 1944 - all supported the theory of two Ālams - one the author of MK who wrote in Avadhī in the 16th century and the other, the author of AK and other miscellaneous erotic stanzas who wrote a hundred years later in Braj. It was the latter Ālam who was concerned in the romance with Sheikh.

NPR (1935-37)

NPR 1935-37 which was published in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī

Patrikā for Māgha 1997 V.E. reported two more works of Ālam - Syām-Sanehī also called Rukmiṇī-Vyāhalo and Sudāmā-Carit. It ascribed Syām-Sanehī to Ālam of the 16th century and Sudāmā-Carit to a protege of Muazzam of that name. It also reported the discovery of another Ālam, the author of 'Granth Sañjīvan', a work on medicine, obviously different from the poet or poets of that name.

Views of Prof. Viśwanāth Prasād Miśra, Ācarya Catur Sen Śāstrī and Prof. Śamśer Sinh Aśok.

Prof. Viśwanath Prasād Miśra of the Benares Hindu University in his paper on 'Ālam Aur Un Kā Samaya' read at the Oriental Conference held there in 1943, criticized strongly the theory of two Ālams and expressed himself in favour of the common authorship of MK and AK which both he assigned to the 16th century.

The same view was repeated in

Patrika for Magha 1987 V.S. reported two more works of Alam - Syām-Sanehī also called Rukmani-Vyāhalo and Sudama-Carit. It ascribed Syām-Sanehī to Ālam of the 16th century and Sudama-Carit to a protege of Muazzam of that name. It also reported the discovery of another Ālam, the author of 'Ayanth Sanjivani', a work on medicine, obviously different from the poet or poets of that name.

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Prof. Viswanath Prasad Misra of the Banaras Hindu University in his paper on 'Ālam Aur Un Kā Samaya' read at the Oriental Conference held there in 1943, criticised strongly the theory of two Ālams and expressed his [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

century.

[illegible]

the 'Hasta-Likhit Hindī Pustakon Kā Saṅkṣipt Vivaraṇ' published by NPS under his supervision in 1946, which gives a consolidated account of the Search Report for Mss. for the years 1900-43 A.D. It was also accepted by Ācārya Catur Sen Śāstrī in his 'Hindī Bhāṣā Aur Sāhitya Kā Itihās' published in 1946 though he made certain untenable statements regarding Ālam's works and the date of Sheikh, the alleged beloved of the poet.

Prof. Śamśer Sinh Aśok in his Rāgmālā Nirṇaya (which also reproduces the text of MK in Gurumukhī script) published in 1946 by the Rāgmālā Nirṇaya Committee, Amritsar reiterated the theory of two Ālams.

Here ends our brief survey of some of the important views expressed regarding Ālam's identity.

SECTION 2. Different Theories regarding Ālam Examined.

Three different views clearly emerge from the above statements.

The Theory of a single Ālam who was patronized by Muazzam

The first view conceds the existence of a single Ālam who was patronized by Muazzam. This view originated with the 'Saroj' which quoted two stanzas as speciments of his poetry. It was adopted by Dr. Grierson and later on reiterated, amongst others, by the Miśra Brothers, Keay, Bhagwān Dīn, Śukla, Śyām Sundar Dās and Rām Nareś Tripāṭhī. The author of the 'Saroj' and Dr. Grierson who were not in the know of any of Ālam's works might have had some justification for the view they held but there was certainly none in the case of all others who wrote after the notice of MK in NPR for the year 1904. But unfortunately

SECTION 2. Different Theories regarding Ālam Explained.

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this notice like others which reported Mss. of other works of Ālam, did not attract much attention though for no want of merit in the works themselves. Years rolled by but scholars continued to repeat the same old statement of the 'Saroj' without looking round to verify if it could still hold water. It is indeed surprising to find that a scholar so wide awake as Śukla should have in the year 1929 - more than 50 years after the 'Saroj' - made the obsolete statement that both MK and AK were the works of a protege of Muazzam. No doubt he modified his stand 11 years later in the revised and enlarged edition of his 'History of Hindī Literature' but that in no way absolves him from responsibility for having lent earlier his weighty support to an absolutely untenable position. The greatest of surprises, however, is that the learned

Editor of N.PR Śyām Sundar Dās himself should have failed to modify the stand of the 'Saroj' in view of his own findings. It was he who had first announced on the basis of the reference in MK the existence of a poet Ālam during Akbar's reign and yet whenever it came to him to write about Ālam he could never go beyond the stand of the 'Saroj'. No wonder, therefore, that other authors who were merely reproducing earlier views without subjecting them to careful scrutiny and who themselves had no first-hand knowledge of Ālam's works should have unconsciously repeated the same error.

The Theory of two Ālams. The second view subscribes to the existence of two Ālams - one the contemporary of Akbar who wrote MK and the other, the contemporary of Muazzam who wrote AK and other

miscellaneous stanzas. The tradition regarding Ālam's love affair with Sheikh applied according to this view to the latter poet of that name. This view had certainly more semblance of plausibility in it than the first in as much as it harmonized with the incontrovertible evidence of MK as first announced in NPR for 1904, which established beyond doubt the existence of a poet Ālam in the reign of Jalal-ud-Din-Akbar when Todar Mal was still the Revenue Minister.*

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* अदली कहौं बखानि, सुजस प्रगट चहूं खंड मैं ।
विद्या अरथ निदान, साहि अकब्बर जगत गुरु ।।
जगपति राज कोटि जुग कीजी ।
साहि जलाल छत्रपति जीजी ।।
दिल्लीपति अकबर सुलताना ।
सप्त दीप मैं जाकी आना ।।
000 000 000
आगै नेक महामति मंडन ।
नृप राजा टोडरमल दंडन ।।

And if the evidence of the 'Saroj' also was to be relied upon, naturally there would have to be supposed two Ālams instead of one. The Miśra Brothers and Śukla who had originally subscribed to the first view had later on shifted to this stand. Dr. Varmā and Gaṇeś Prasād Dvivedī also supported this view.

The Theory of a single Ālam of Akbar's time. The third view concedes the existence of a single Ālam of Akbar's time, the common author of MK, AK, Syām-Sanehī(SS) and other miscellaneous collections. In my opinion this is the only view which is tenable.

The first view is worth no more than a mere literary curiosity. It ceased to have any basis after the announcement of MK in NPR, for 1904. As regards the second the only justification for it is the evidence of

the 'Saroj' which quoted two stanzas as specimens of the poetry of the protege of Muazzam. The reliability of the 'Saroj' is always a disputed matter; many of its facts and figures can be proved to be definitely wrong*. And in the present case the extreme dubiousness of its evidence is obvious. Out of the two stanzas, ascribed to Ālam one which contains no reference to Muazzam is found with slight variation in a Ms. of MK lying in the Ārya Bhāṣā Pustakālaya. Thus the whole case rests ultimately on the evidence of a single stanza (जान्त औलि०) which in itself is of extremely doubtful authenticity. The

* For instance Emperor Akbar, according to the 'Saroj', was born in Samvat 1584 which is obviously incorrect. Again the date for the poet Ratneś of Bundel Khaṇḍ is given as Samvat 1788 and that of his son Samvat 1760. Comment on such instances of gross carelessness of which there are infact too many, is superfluous.

ascription of this stanza to Ālam rests solely on the assumption of a double entendre on the word Ālam found in its second line. But the pun is neither intended nor necessary. If the question of authorship is to be decided on the flimsy basis of the occurrence of the word Ālam in it, the stanza might as well belong to Rahīm for that name also occcurs there. And beyond this single stanza there is absolutely nothing else to confirm Ālam's association with Muazzam while on the other hand there is plenty of evidence which makes such an association extremely difficult of acceptance.

Ms. evidence makes Ālam's association with Muazzam extremely improbable.

The Ms. evidence itself is definitely against such an assumption. NPR for the year 1903 had reported a Ms. of AK of 1753 V.E. which was probably utilized by Bhagwān Dīn for ~~whi~~ his Editio

Princeps. This date of the Ms. fitted all right with the belief of Ālam's association with Muazzam. But now we know of a Ms. of the work of a much earlier date. The Phālgun issue of the Braj Bhāratī for the year 1998 V.E. reported a Ms. of Ālam's Kavittas. In the absence of any name of the collection in the Ms. it was named Padya-Catuh-Śatī on the strength of its volume, and was announced as a new work of Ālam. In-fact this collection agrees in contents with AK with only a little variation in the order of its stanzas here and there. The colophon in the Ms. runs as below:-

इति शेख आलम के कवित्त संपूर्ण , संवत् १७१२ वर्षे भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपदे बुधवासरातायां लिखित श्रीवर वैष्णम ब्रह्मचारी श्री मधुपर्यीं नमः । पुस्तक स्वामी गोविंददास को श्री श्री श्री ।

Thus the Ms. was copied in 1712 V.E.

Princeps. This date of the Ms. fitted all right with the belief of Ālam's association with Muazzam. But now we know of a Ms. of the work of a much earlier date. The Phālgun issue of the Braj Bhāratī for the year 1998 V.E. reported a Ms. of Ālam's Kavittas. In the absence of any name of the collection in the Ms. it was named Padya-Catuh-śati on the strength of its volume, and was announced as a new work of Ālam. In fact this collection agrees in contents with [illegible] with only a little variation in the order of its stanzas here and there. The colophon in the Ms. runs as below:-

when Prince Muazzam could not have been more than 12 years old. The actual date of the composition of the work must be much earlier still for sufficient time must be allowed for it to gain such popularity as to warrant the necessity of copying of its Mss.

This date is very important. It makes Ālam's association with Muazzam altogether untenable and his identification with the author of MK exceedingly probable. The same conclusion is supported by the date 1717 V.E. of a Ms. of SS which has been utilized in the present edition.

The evidence of 'Yukti-taraṅgiṇī' lends further support to Ms. evidence.

The identification of the author of AK and SS with that of MK receives further support from the evidence of Kul Pati who concluded his 'Yukti-taraṅgṇī'

in 1743 V.E. In the introductory verses of his 'Satsai' he pays tribute to his predecessors and seniors as follows:-

जिन धुनि रुपी ब्रह्म कौं कीनौ नेम अनूप ।
सुमिरहु भाषा प्रथम कवि पिंगल मंगल रुप ।। २४ ।।
सवद अरथ रस भूषनौं उपमा भूत अभूत ।
कविता के मग लषन कौं सूरदास पुरहूत ।। २५ ।।
नव रसमय मूरति सदा जिन बरनै नंदलाल ।
आलम आलम बस कियौ दै निज कविता जाल ।। २६ ।।
मति की गति बिरमति न कहुं जौ बरनै जब अंग ।
उज्जल कविता गंग की जैसी गंग तरंग ।। २७ ।।
वरनावलि मुष तैं चलति गगन सुरसरी सोत ।
जस वरनत परसिद्ध कै सीर उदधि जु होत ।। २८ ।।
जो भाषा जान्यौ चहत रसमय सरल सुभाय ।
कविता के सौराय की तौ साचौ चितुलाय ।। २६ ।।
भांति भांति कविता सरस देव गिरा ज्यौं व्यास ।
तौ भाषा सब कविन मैं विमल विहारीदास ।। ३० ।।

It is important that this list which is obviously in chronological

order assigns to Ālam a place between Sūr Dās and Gaṅga and describes the devotion to Kṛṣṇa as the distinctive characteristic of his poetry. Evidently this Ālam, the contemporary of Sūr Dās and Gaṅga is the same as the author of MK. But then MK does not bear out Kul Pati's estimate of Ālam as the glorifier of Kṛṣṇa. This is more than made up by AK and SS. The latter celebrates Kṛṣṇa's love for Rukmiṇī and AK has quite a large number of stanzas treating devoutly of Radhā and Kṛṣṇa. Obviously Kul Pati had these works in view when he wrote his above tribute to Ālam. Even at a most modest estimate this singer of Kṛṣṇa's glory could not have flourished later than 1700 V.E. and could therefore never have been the protege of Muazzam.

other [illegible] to find a place between [illegible] and [illegible] and describes the devotion to Krsna as the distinctive characteristic of his poetry. Evidently this Alam, the contemporary of [illegible] and [illegible] is the same as the author of [illegible]. But then MK does not bear out Lal Sahib's estimate of Ālam as the glorifier of Krsna. This is more than made up by AK and [illegible]. The latter [illegible] large number of stanzas treating devoutly [illegible]. Obviously [illegible] had [illegible] wrote in his praise to Alam. Even [illegible] most modest [illegible] this singer of Krsna's glory could not have flourished later than 1700 A.D. and could therefore never have been the protege of [illegible].

The evidence of 'Dohā-Sār-Saṅgrah' also supports the same conclusion.

That Ālam's poetry had attained wide popularity long before Muazzam or even 1700 V.E. is supported by the evidence of 'Dohā-Sār-Saṅgrah' which includes stanzas under the names of both Ālam and Sheikh. This miscellaneous compilation of dohās of celebrated poets was, according to the work itself completed in 1710 V.E.* by Prince Dārā Shukoh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahān who perished in 1716 V.E. in the fratricidal struggle for the throne. Thus Ālam's poetry must have been popular long before that date inorder to merit recognition at the hands of the royal compiler.

All this makes the identity of the author of MK with that of AK and SS exceedingly probable.

सत्रह सै दस साल मैं प्रफुलित फागन मांहि ।
दोहा सारु कढाईयो, दिनमनि दारासाहि ।।

दोहासार संग्रह

Internal evidence supports common authorship of MK AK and SS.

Internal evidence also establishes the common authorship of all these works MK, AK and SS. We give below a few of the over-whelming instances that bear affinity in vocabulary, thought and imagery taken from MK and SS.

१

छत्तिस पुरी नगर वैपारी ।	हेरनि हेर रंग धुनि भारी ।
बैठे हाट महाजन भारी ।।	निरत करहिं नाइक नि्रतकारी ।।
कहूं नाच कहुं पेखन होंई ।	कहूं बादहि दुइ पंडित बानी ।
कहूं पवारा गावत कोई ।।	कहूं कवित्त कहूं कथा कहानी ।।
कहुं रामायन भारथ होई ।	कहूं पेखन नट चाटक नाचहिं ।
कहूं गीता कहुं भागवत होई।।	कहूं पुरान पुरानी बाचहिं ।।
कहुं पंडित द्वै सहस हैं,	कहूं चउदंते कीजहि दंती ।
कहूं करहिं कवि वाद ।	कहूं फेरियहि तुरंगम पंती ।।
कहूं मल्ल विह्वल भिरहिं,	कहूं मल्ल सरवैया पेलहिं ।
कहूं गीत कहुं नाद ।।	कहूं राइतवर सतरंज खेलहिं ।।

पृष्ठ २०५

४८.६ १४

४६.१ ४

२

हयदल पयदल गजदल,
जोतिहि जोति सुरंग ।
सूरबीर बानै बने,
चली चमू चतुरंग ।।

हैदल मैदल पइकदल,
रथ दल जुरे हंकार ।
दोऊ सैना चतुरबिधि,
परी दुहुं दिसि मार ।।

पृष्ठ २२३ १३८. ६ १०

३

रावत पर रावत चढि धाये ।
धानष पर धानष चढि आये ।।
पाइक सौं पाइक भये जोरा ।
लरत वार यौं मुष नहिं मोरा ।।
गज सौं गज कीन्हे चौदंता ।
चिकरैं कुंजर मैयतमंता ।।
बाजै लोह उठै टंकारा ।
तापर फिरैं खड्ग की धारा ।।

रथ सिउं रथ दंतनि सिउं दंती।
सूरनि सिउं सूरनि की पंती।।
पाइक सिउं पाइक भल जुरई ।
जीवत इक सिउं एक न मुरई।।
इन्द्रासन डग डग डरि डोला ।
छूटहिं अगनि बान तपि गोला।

१३८. ११ १६

४.

कर्म रेख सौं कछु न बसाई । दैवी दैव न पलटै कोई ।
जो विधि लिख्यौ सो मेटि न जाई । बिधना करम लिख्यौ सो होई ।

50. 7-8

५.

रामचन्द्र नहिं जगमहं आही । सुधि पाये सुधि होई सम ।
सिया वियोग किधौं दुख जाही ।। पावहि पूरन नामु ।
राजा नल पृथिवी सौं गयऊ। दामावति कहूं नलु मिले ।
जिहि बिछोह दमयंती भयऊ । सीता को श्रीरामु ।।

पृ० २०६ ५४. ६.१०

६.

सुनत पंवरिया उठि किन धावही । दउरि पउरिये बेगि जनायौ।

पृ० १६२ ८३.११

७.

बेगि जाइकै ल्याउ हंकारी । बेगि पवरिया लीन हंकारी ।

पृ० १६२ ८३. ११

८.

बैठि कंदला माधव पासा । तारा लीक खोज है जैसे ।
सूर संग जनु चंद प्रकासा । चांद सूरू जनु इक रथ बैसे ।।

पृ० १६७ १२६. १३. १४

६.

नगर लोग सब बसै सुकर्मी ।	नगर नाउं कुंदन पुरु कहहीं ।
ब्राह्मण क्त्री बैस सुधर्मी ।।	धरमराज धरमी सम रहहीं ।।
	पुरी पुरुख सभ बसहिं सुकरमी ।
पृ० १६०	बामन क्त्री सभै सुधरमी ।।

परजा पवन कहन कछु आए ।	प्रजा पौनि सभ बेग बुलावहु ।
पृ० १८६	११४ १३.

These instances which could be easily multiplied are a sufficient indication of the common hand behind them.

As regards AK it is a collection of stray stanzas of Ālam. Obviously it does not include the whole of Ālam's stray stanzas. Some k of the quite well known stanzas of the poet are wanting in it. Ālam's wide popularity was responsible for giving birth and circulation to many such collections of varying size and overlapping content. A number of them have been reported in

the Search Reports for Mss. One such collection is the 'Akṣar-Mālikā' so called because the stanzas in it are arranged in alphabetical order. It contains about 470 stanzas and shares an overwhelming majority of them with the published text of AK. It is very gratifying to note that the Akṣar-mālikā shares its two benedictory stanzas in the beginning with SS.* Again AK in stanza 165 employs a comparison काम कंदला को कामी** which is rather

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* 2. 7-8; 1.1-6.

** मानस को कहा बसि की जतु है बावरी सु,
बासी सुर बास हू को बसि कै बसाऊं री।
मैनका को स्वामी कायकन्दला को कामी मोरि,
मैन हू की मानिनी को मन मोहि ल्याऊं री।
सैख मन मोहन के मोहन के मंत्र जंत्र,
मोहिं जे न आवैं ते विधाता पै न पाऊं री।
आखतनि लेत हाथ चंदा चल्यो आवे साथ,
नदिन को नीर बीर उलटि बहाऊं री ।।

rate in Literature. Its significance, of course, is easily understood when we link up the passage with MK.

To sum up., the dates of the available Mss. of AK and SS rule out the possibility of their authors' association with Prince Muazzam and make the identification of their author with that of MK exceedingly probable. This probability is greatly strengthened by the evidence of Kul Pati who assigns to Ālam, a glorifier of Kṛṣṇa's fame, a place by the side of Sūr Dās and Gaṅga. Evidently this Ālam is the same as the author of AK and SS both of which celebrate Kṛṣṇa's glory. From this it is quite natural to presume that this Ālam, the contemporary of Sūr Dās and a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, is the same as the author of MK who avowedly belongs to the same glorious time of Akbar's

reign. The facts of common authorship of AK, SS and MK receives corroboration from internal evidence also. SS shares three stanzas with Akṣar-Mālikā, a collection of Ālam's stanzas arranged in alphabetical order agreeing overwhelmingly with AK in contents. Further SS shares plenty of thought and phraseology with MK. All these facts strongly link AK, SS and MK together. That the fame of this great author of AK, SS and MK attained wide popularity long before Prince Muazzam is also established by the evidence of the Dohā-Sār-Saṅgraha of 1710 V.E.

In the face of all this it should be no longer possible to subscribe to the theory of two Ālams. The facts are overwhelmingly in support of a single Ālam who flourished in Akbar's time, and who wrote not only MK but also SS

and a large number of miscellaneous stanzas which have come down in collections of varying size such as Ālam-Keli, Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā, Ālam Ke Kavitta, Kavitta Saṅgrah etc.

SECTION 3. Ālam's Life and Thought.

Not much is known beyond dispute about the life and character of Ālam. Anecdotes are told asserting that he was originally a Brāhmaṇ who was ardently in love with a Muslim dyer woman Sheikh by name whose poetic talent had once greatly roused his admiration for her. Their friendship later culminated in their marriage and his conversion to Islām. Another tradition which also supports this relationship between Sheikh and Ālam alleges that once Prince Muazzam met Sheikh and jestingly asked her if she was the wife of Ālam. With unfailing wit she replied that she was no doubt the mother of Jahān.*

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* Jahān is said to be the name of Ālam's son. Obviously a pun is intended on the words Ālam and Jahān which both besides being proper names mean also the 'world'.

The tradition regarding Sheikh examined.

The story of Ālam's romance might or might not have been true, but there is very little ground to support that Sheikh was the name of his wife. The fact that in almost all his works stanzas bearing Sheikh's name are found indiscriminately mixed up with those bearing that of Ālam does not lend any support to the tradition. On the other hand it would be obvious from such a contingency that Sheikh was only a surname employed by the poet for himself according to the convenience and exigency of metre. Just as Rahīm wrote also under the name of Rahiman, and Ghanānand and Bhikhārī Dās wrote under the names of Ānandaghan and Dās respectively so also Sheikh Ālam wrote under the title of Sheikh as well. The use of Sheikh as a proper name is unfamiliar and more so as the name of a

woman .

Ms. evidence also invalidates such a presumption. For instance the colophon in the Catuh-śatī gives the name of the author as Sheikh Ālam and so does the Ms. of Akṣar-Mālikā in the Saraswatī Bhandār at Kāṅkraulī. The Ms of the kavittas of Ālam (No.140/22) in the Yājñik Collection with Dr. Bhavānī Śaṅkar at Lucknow also repeats the name as Sheikh Ālam both in the beginning and at the end. There is another Ms.(141/22) in the same collection comprising in all 91 stanzas which gives the name of its author as Sheikh Sāīn. As all the stanzas in this Ms belong to Ālam and are mostly found in AK it is obvious that Sheikh is here used for Ālam. In view of all this the tradition which mentions Sheikh as his wife seems without basis. The other tradition associating Sheikh with Prince Muazzam has already been exploded.

It is difficult to decide whether Ālam was a born Muslim or a convert to Islām. All his works breathe the spirit of Paurāṇic Hinduism. If we may judge from his poetry he believes in metempsychosis and the doctrine of Karma and incarnation. Kṛṣṇa is the reflex of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so is Rukmiṇī, the reflex of Sītā. The marriage of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa is celebrated according to Vedic rites and the scene of the ladies jesting and joking on the occasion is typical of the Hindu marriage even to this day. The Brāhmaṇ inspires confidence and commands respect. There is reflected all round wide anxiety to uphold the Brāhmaṇical social order. MK also subscribes fully to the same ideology and abounds with allusions to Paurāṇic figures. Inview of all this one would be inclined to the view that Ālam was originally a Brāhmaṇ who had later on embraced Islām

It is difficult to decide wheth[illegible] [illegible] was a born Muslim or a convert to Isl[illegible]. All his works breathe the spirit [illegible] Hinduism. If we may judge [illegible] his poetry he believes in metem-[illegible] and the doctrine of Karma and [illegible]tion. Kṛṣṇa is the reflex of Rāma, [illegible] incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so is [illegible] the reflex of Sītā. The marriage [illegible] and Kṛṣṇa is celebrated [illegible] to Vedic rites and the scene of [illegible] jesting and joking on the [illegible] is typical of the Hindu marriage [illegible] this day. The brāhmaṇ inspires confidence and commands respect. There is [illegible] all round wide anxiety to uphold the [illegible] social order. He also [illegible] fully to the same ideology and abounds with allusions to Paurāṇic figures. In view of all this one would be inclined to the view that Ālam was originally a Brāhmaṇ who had later on embraced Islam

Although there would be nothing impossible in such a view it is hardly obligatory to accept it, for all this could be equally true of a born Muslim also who had been strongly influenced by Hindu Culture. For instance Sandeś Rāsak, an apabhraṁśa poem of Abdul Rehmān, a muslim weaver of Western India who wrote at the latest in the beginning of the 13th century of the Vikram Era, shows such a deep assimilation of Hindu culture that it would not be possible to guess the non-Hindu origin of the work if the author had not given any information about himself. Rahīm and Ras Khān again have both drawn their imagery exclusively from the range of Pauraṇic Hinduism and yet both were born muslims. Who would ever believe if he were not specifically told so that the stanza

मानुष हौं तौ वही रसखान बसौं संग गोकुल गांव के ग्वारन ।
जौ पसु हौं तौ कहा बसु मेरो चरौं नित नन्द की धेनु मँझारन ।।
पाहन हौं तौ वही गिरी को जो कियो हरि छत्र पुरन्दर धारन ।
जौ खग हौं तौ बसेरो करौं मिलि कालिंदी कूल कदम्ब की डारन।।

is the product of a non-Hindu pen. It is equally difficult to deny a Hindu heart to the muslim author of the celebrated poem Padmāvat.

It is not definitely known where Ālam lived. A stanza* of Bhikhārī Dās informs us that he was not an inhabitant of Braj but that at its best is only a

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सूर, केसव, मंडन, बिहारी, कालिदास, ब्रह्म,
चिन्तामणि, मतिराम, भूषण सु जानिए।
लीलाधर, सेनापति, निपट नेवाज, निधि,
नीलकंठ, मिश्र सुखदेव, देव मानिए॥
आलम, रहीम, रसखान, सुंदरादिक,
अनेकन सुमति भए कहाँ लौं बखानिए।
ब्रजभाषा हेत ब्रजवास ही न अनुमानौ,
ऐसे ऐसे कविन की बानी हू सों जानिए॥

शुक्ल – हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास, पृष्ठ २८८

negative statement. From his language it would appear that he belonged to a border place between the Western Avadhī and Braj speaking tracts and perhaps it would not be far wrong if we were to locate him somewhere near Jaunpur.

Ālam exercised a facile command over both Avadhī and Braj and on his own admission had a working knowledge of Sanskrit. His works, as said above, reveal considerable familiarity with Brāhmaṇical social order and Paurāṇic mythology. That he had a deep knowledge of music and dance is apparent from the skilful manner in which he has drawn the court-scene in MK. That masterly picture is really worthy of a great artist.

Ālam is essentially a love poet. In MK he has dilated again and again on the glories of selfless love but he does not seek to postulate divine love by the delineation of mundane love as is the

definite statement. From his language it would appear that he belonged to a border place between the Western Avadhī and Braj speaking tracts and perhaps it would not be far wrong if we were to locate him somewhere near Jaunpur.

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Ālam is essentially a love poet. In MK he has dilated again and again on the glories of selfless love but he does not seek to postulate divine love by the delineation of mundane love as is the

wont with the Sūfī writers of the Ākhyāna-Kāvya. Although we miss this metaphysical emphasis in him we do not find him in favour of any total abandonment to passion which would throw all social decorum to the winds. In such a lack of restraint he has little faith. He has, for instance, thought it necessary to validate Rukminī's passion for Kṛṣṇa by the sanction of her parents and by divine blessings. The whole conduct of the Princess shows admirable restraint and points clearly to the poet's faith in ordered family life. This is further borne out by her father's anxiety to provide such education to her as would fit her for an ideal wife devoted to the service of her husband and worship of the gods. Great stress is laid on the virtue of modesty in speech and obedience to parents. In fact Ālam's whole emphasis seems to

[illegible] with the said writers of the [illegible]. Although we miss this [illegible] emphasis in him we do not find [illegible] in favour of any total abandon-ment [illegible] which would throw all [illegible] to the winds. In such a [illegible] he had little faith. [illegible] for instance, though it soon carry [illegible]'s passion for [illegible] by the sanction of her parents and [illegible]. The whole conduct of the [illegible] shows admirable restraint and points clearly to the poet's faith in ordinary family life. This is further borne out by her father's anxiety to provide such education to her as would fit her for an ideal wife devoted to the service of her husband and worship of the gods. Great stress is laid on the virtue of modesty in speech and obedience to parents. In that [illegible] whole [illegible] seems to

be concentrated on the necessity to maintain restraint and order even in the midst of the storm of passions and this healthy direction would be welcome to all those who do not seek chaos in society.

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CHAPTER III

THE WORKS OF ĀLAM - UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

'Hasta-likhit Hindī Pustakon Kā Saṅkṣipt Vivaraṇ' published by NPS. which gives a consolidated account of the reports for the search of Mss. for the years 1900-43 ascribes the following works to Ālam, the celebrated poet of Akbar's time:-

1.	Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā	Vide NPR 1909-11
2.	Ālam Ke Kavitta (1)	Vide NPR 1923-25, 9(b)
3.	Ālam Ke Kavitta (2)	Vide NPR 1923-25, 9(c)
4.	Ālam-Keli	Vide NPR 1903
5.	Kavitta-Saṅgrah	Vide NPR 1941
6.	Chappaya	Vide NPR 1923-25, 9(a)
7.	Mādhavānal-Kāmkandalā	Vide NPR 1904; 1923-25 1929-31; 1941.
8.	Saṅgrah	Vide NPR 1923-25.
9.	Sudāmā-Carit	Vide NPR 1935-37; 1943-45.
10.	Syām-Sagāī (or Syām-Sanehī)	Vide NPR 1932-34

In addition to above Padya-Catuhśatī and Akṣar-Mālikā were announced as two new works of Ālam by P.Kaṇṭha Maṇi Śāstrī in 1941*. Another collection of 30 stanzas exists in the state Library at Rām Nagar (Benares). Yet another collection styled 'Dūti Vijñapti'** is ascribed to Ālam by Dr. Bhavānī Śankar Yājñik who also has with him several other collections of Ālam's miscellaneous stanzas of varying size.

A critical examination of these Mss. shows that all of them are not entirely independent works. Excepting MK, SS (also called Syām-Sagāī) and Sudāmā-Carit which all deal with a planned theme and are more or less deliberate works of narrative art, they are all collections of miscellaneous stanzas ascribed to Ālam varying in size and often over-lapping in contents. The number of stanzas and their nature in each

* Vide 'Braj Bhāratī,' Phālgun 1998 V.E.
** Vide 'Maryādā,' September 1915 A.D.

collection was perhaps determined by the taste and requirements of each individual compiler. Ālam-Keli and Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā are by far more representative collections than the rest. Their size and contents are overwhelmingly alike. Padya-Catuhśatī and Akṣar-Mālikā are not new collections but are closely akin to them, the former owing its title to the extent of its size and the latter to the nature of its arrangement for the stanzas in it are given in alphabetical order. It is obvious from above that none of these collections is exhaustive. No where in one place is to be found the entire body of the stanzas ascribed to Ālam. Both the text and the full extent of Ālam's poetry have yet to be determined. In view of the significant position Ālam occupies amongst writers of the Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya-School a critical edition of all his floating verses and other works is much to be

coll[illegible] determined by the taste [illegible] of each individual comp[illegible] Lal Kavi Ki Kavi[illegible] representative coll[illegible] the rest. Their size and cont[illegible] considerably differ. Padya-Ca[illegible]-Giti are not ny col[illegible] akin to these, th the[illegible] little to the extent of [illegible] to the nature of [illegible] the stanzas in it [illegible] order. It is obvious [illegible] that none of these collections is representative. Nowhere in one place [illegible] the entire body of the [illegible] both the text and the [illegible] extent of Alam's poetry [illegible] determined. In view of the significant position Alam occupies amongst writers of the Agra-Rīti-school a critical edition of all his floating verses and other works [illegible] to be

desired.

We give below a brief account of the Mss. above followed by a little more detailed analysis of the contents of Ālam-Keli and Mādhavānal-Kāmkandalā both of which are available in print.

1. Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā* is a collection of miscellaneous floating stanzas of Ālam very much similar to the published collection AK with which its contents overwhelmingly agree. Its total strength is 387 stanzas as against 398 of AK, of which it misses in all only 16 stanzas. All of its stanzas except five viz. Nos.151, 205, 211, 386 and 387 are contained in AK. But the order of the stanzas and the arrangement of its contents are very much different though hardly less haphazardly. For instance it

* A Ms. of this collection was consulted by the present Editor in the Ārya Bhāṣā Pustakālaya of NPS. The date of Ms. as given on the outer cover is 1760 V.E. But there is no indication whatsoever of the date within. At the end of Ms. we have only इति आलम कृत कवित, पोथी भगोतीदास सेठकी, लिषतं बालचंद ।

designed.

[illegible] give below a brief account of the Ms. [illegible] followed by a little more-[illegible] analysis of the contents of [illegible] [illegible]-Sāmkandala both of which are available in print.

[illegible] Kavitā* is a collection of miscellaneous floating stanzas of Alan-[illegible] similar to the published collec-tion [illegible] with which its contents overwhelm-ingly agree. Its total strength is 327 stanzas as against 327 of AK, of which it misses in all only 16 stanzas. All of its stanzas except five viz. Nos. 181, 301, 311, 320 and 327 are contained in AK. But the order of the stanzas and the arrangement of its contents are very much different [illegible] partly [illegible] haphazardly. For instance, [illegible]

* A Ms. of this collection was [illegible] the present editor to the [illegible] Kalayan of MSS. The date of [illegible] the outer cover is 1720 V.S. But [illegible] indication whatsoever of the date [illegible] at the end of [illegible] have only [illegible]

begins with खण्डिता वर्णन of Ālam-Keli (160) and continues uninterrupted till stanza No.273. Then it skips over the Savaiyās No.274-308) and resumes with यशोदा की उक्ति No. (308) and continues till stanza No.336 after which it reverts to the Savaiyās (No.274-308) above. The description of Kṛṣṇa's childhood with which AK opens commences in this collection with stanza No.233 and after that is continued with slight variations the entire earlier portion of AK concluding with

सखी की उक्ति सखी प्रति

2. Ālam Ke Kavitta (1) is a collection of 53 stray stanzas of Ālam. The beginning and the end as reported in NPR are as follows:-

Beginning:-

श्री गणेशाय नमः ।। अथ आलम के कवित्त ।।
सारी सेत सोहै नष नूपुर की आभा सेत चंदमुखी धरै अंग अंग
चाँदनी सी चंद की । उरज उतंग मानौं उमगि अनंग आवैं कसि
पैठी पाछगाढी जरिबंद की ।। कहि कवि आलम किसोरी वैस
गोरी जगी जग की उज्यारी प्यारी न्यारे नंद नंद की । सूमरि

नितंब जँघ रंभा कैसे खंम चलि मंद मंद आवै गति मद को गयंद की ।। १ ।। आठौ अंगनि षट सुठानि बानि ठानि ठई गांठी सै कठोर कुच जोवन की बसैंहि है । गुन की गंभीर अति भोरी पै जंघनि जुग थोरे ही दिननि गोरी रुप रंग जैठी है । कहि कवि आलम दिषाईं दुरि जारं देत ग्वारि घरी मारि मनहिं मैंमेठि है । सखी सौं कहति बात जगमग मुसिकात कौन कैसे पास नैन पातरी औठि है ।।२ ।।

End:-
बारिक ज्यों ब्रजराज व्रज तज्यौ जब अब सब मिलि एक बार बैरी भये बरज्यौं । भूरख मयूख हिय हुमकि हुमकि हनै हमहि पै जानै हिय ही मैं हिमकर ज्यौं।। जलजवली नै ज्वाल जाल जल जाल जरि लाल जाल भरि दृगजुग जलधर ज्यौं । एक मनु मारैं मैं तो मार ही की मारी मरौं दूज मारै मरुत प्रवेश विषधर ज्यौं ।। ५२ ।। सघन घटा घुमरि जनु रह्यौ घन घैरि घैरि घसी आवनि घुमरि नीरजु । आलम सिषर सुनि सबद सुहायै सुर बूंदनि के संग वहै सीतल समीर जू ।। पवन पियारे ऐसी कहियौ सुनाइ अब हम लाए कैसे धरैं जिय धीर जू ।। पल पल प्रान ए तपत पी अपास कौं पै पालो प्रेम सहित सकल पल पीर जू ।। ५३ ।। इति ।

3. Alam Ke Kavitta (2) is a collection of 154 stanzas. The beginning and the end as reported in NPR are as follows:-

Beginning:- कवि आलम कृत कवित्त लिख्यते ।।
मृगमद पीति झांपी नीलंबर तऊ जोति घूम उरझाई मानो सौरी की सी झारी है । लै चली हौं अंधियारी अंग अंग छवि न्यारी, आरसी मैं दीप की सी दीपती पसारी है । अजरो सिंगारु करि जीन्ह हू को साजु कीनौं जीन्ह हू मैं जीन्ह सी लै सुधा सवारी है । बार बार कहत हौ प्यारी हूं छिपाइ लाइ कैसे कै लै आऊं पर वाही यों उजारी है ।। १ ।।

End:- सजनी मिलि द्वै अवलोकि कहैं अति ही हरि राधिका के बसि री । देखि धौं कुंज विहारत हैं कवि आलम और कहा रस री ।। अंगिया सेत झीनी सी तैल मिली तरकी और ठौर कसै कसरी । कस प्रात सुमेर की घोस भयो जिनही नित औस मनो पसरी ।। इति श्री आलम के कवित्त संपूर्णम् ।। श्री ।। व: ।।श्री।

4. Kavitta Sangrah is a collection of 386 stanzas. The Ms. is incomplete. It begins with आलम सुकवि मेरे ० i.e. the latter half stanza No. 4 of AK and ends with औधि टरी ० which is No.377 in AK.

5. Chappaya is a small collection of 7 stanzas. The beginning and end as reported in NPR are as follows:-

Ms 523

[illegible] Saṅgrah is a collection of [illegible] stanzas. The Ms. is incomplete. It begins with [illegible] i.e. the latter half stanza No. 4 of [illegible] and ends with [illegible] which is No. [illegible] in AK.

[illegible]. [illegible] is a small collection of 7 stanzas. The beginning and end as reported in NCC are as follows:-

Beginning:-

सघन वैलि बन हरिय सोम उन्नवन स्याम घन । झरत सेत पंखुरिय मधुर वरषंत वुंद कन ।। पुष्पपीत वल्लरिय डुल्लि दामिनि चमकति वर । कुसुमावलि बहु वरन चाप सोहत सुरपति कर ।। भिगाली पुंज पिक सुर गण उठि पराग धुरवा रहै । विरहिन जु भ्रमति आलम सुमति रितु वसंत पावस कहै ।। १ ।।

End:- जन हलास अब वैन हीय जानन्तसमाच्य । कन नटथै संतोष जाय घंटवधिज्जय ।। सत्तसील कसि गौन वानि गुरमुष हसाग भरि । परमारथ पथ हक्कि सच्च लै कहर सह करि । हरि नौरि पहुंच आलम सुमति मुक्ति दव्य पावै गनिज ।। जिन डुल्लहि डुल्लहि अडुल्ल कडुल्ल ह्वै यह वखिज्ज नायक वनिज ।। ७ ।। करन को करनि की करत वखान कवि करुन की कीरती कर करन समान हो । तरुन अमित जाकै तरुन को तेज धरै तिरन कै सम अरि याकोत करत वखान है ।। इति सम्पूर्णम् ।।

6. Sangrah is a collection of 41 stanzas. Its beginning and end as reported in NPR are as below:-

Beginning:- अथ वाई वर्णन । सघन अखंड पूरि पंकज पराग पत्र अच्छर मधुप सछ घंटा फहरातु है । विरमि चलति फूलि बेलनि के बास रस मुख के संदेसे लेत सवनि सिहातु है । सेष कहि सीरे सरवरनि के तीर तीर पीवतु न नीर परसे तें सियरातु है । आवन वसंत मन भावन मनोज तन पवन परेवा मानौ पाती लीने जातु है ।।

End:- तजि मानु मुरारि पै नारि चली कवि आलम लोल कलिंदी के तीरहि । हार हिए हरए हँसी दिजपंति हरै छबि हीरहि ।। भुज डोलत बोलत मंद गती कर पल्लव चारु लए छबि बीरहि । कोस विदारन के भ्रम सो दल के दल कंज गहै मनो कीरहि ।। ४१ ।। इति कवित्त आलम के संपूर्णम् ।। इति ।।

7. Sudāmā-Carit is a brief poem of 57-60 stanzas in Rekhatā celebrating the immortal episode of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Sudāmā a resourceless but devoted Brāhmaṇ who had once been his classmate. The beginning and end as reported in NPR (1935-37) are as below:-

Beginning:-

औंकार है अलख निरंजन वैसा कृष्ण गोवर्धनधारी ।
नादर सब के कादर सिर पै सुंदर तन घनश्याम मुरारी ।।

सूरति खूब अजायब मूरति आलम के महबूब बिहारी ।
जगमग जग है जमाल जगत मैं हिलमिल दिल की जै बलिहारी।।

सत सुनाम अस बहुत बंदगी जो इस को नीके कर जाने ।
ज्यों ज्यों याद करै वह बंदा त्यों त्यों वह नीके कर जाने ।।
देषो कर्म कियो वामन ने जो कछु दिया सो मन मैं जाने ।
ऐसै कौन विना गिरिधारी जो गरीब के दुष को माने ।।

End:-
केते रतन पारखी परखे जेवर कितिक सुनार गढत हैं ।
केते बाजीगर और नटुआ केते नचुआ नाच करत हैं ।।
केते बाजार चहुं खंड दीसै केतिक अखारन मल्ल लरत हैं ।
केते जमींदार हैं ठाढे ठाढे अपनी अपनी अरज करत हैं ।।

दोहा

गदागीर रषम सुखन सुदामा, श्री कृष्णचंद्र को भार ।
आलम मैं प्रगटत भए सब राजन सिरदार ।।
इति संपूर्णम् .

The concluding stanzas above are not found in the Ms. in the Saraswatī Bhandār at Kānkraulī.* The conclusion in that Ms. is as below:-

* Vide Braj Bhāratī, Caitra 1999 V.E. Pp. 18 -21.

जैते जोग जगत मैं कहाये, तिन मैं भगति जोग है मुसक्लि ।
सोई ईस मारग को पावै, सदा होय कायम उसका दिल ।।
मोग जोग के हासल तिस मैं श्रौर ठौर कोई नहिं मंजिल ।
जिन तसलीम किया तन मन को, सो दुनिया के कहायै कामिल।

कसमा कहा सुदामा प्रभु का, कहैं सुनै दिल प्रीत बढाई ।
जिसका होय मीसत मैं बासा आवागमन कदी नहीं भाई ।।
जैसा करम किया बांभन पर तैसी उसको होत सवाई ।
दीनानाथ नाथ की बातैं, जो बांचै क्या करूं बडाई ।।५७।।
इति श्री आलम कृत सुदामा चरित्र संपूर्णम् ।। श्रीरस्तु।।

The Mss in NPS, however, has 60 stanzas against 57 above. The last/stanza above is not found therein and the peom ends with
जेते जोग जगत मे कहाये ....

Both on the score of language and style the authenticity of the peem has been disputed. While Ālams all other works are wk written either in Avadhī or Braj this poem is composed in Rekhatā with a strong bias for words of foreign source. But the abundance of Persian and Arabic words in the poem need not be taken as a decisive

factor against its genuineness. That this language was usual with the Moghal Court at the time need not be disputed. Nor it is necessary to doubt Ālam's capacity to handle this mixed language. A born Muslim as he was he must have been bred and brought up in an atmosphere which breathed Persian and Arabic. Ālam-Keli itself avowedly contains 5 stanzas in Rekhatā which is a strong link to confirm the authorship of Sudāmā-Carit. The crudity of the poem and the apparent inferiority of its style appear, of course, quite ~~wrong~~ strong arguments against its authenticity. It is really difficult to deny the relative want of elegance and polished workmanship in this poem; but this type of discrepancy has always existed between the juvenile production of earlier days and the finished works of maturer years of all artists. And Ālam is no exception. In our opinion Sudāmā-Carit is the first work of Ālam, the

noted singer of Kṛṣṇa's glory of 'Yukti-taraṅgiṇī' fame and it is no use to subscribe to the existence of another poet of that name in Muazzam's time in order simply to father it upon him. The alleged affinity* of its language with that of the quotation जानत औलि कितावन कों। is as much or little capable of proof as with the language of the Rekhatā verses in the Ālam-Keli.

10. Syām-Sagāī or Syām-Sanehī -

A detailed account of this work will follow in the succeeding chapters.

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* Vide NPR (1935-37), published in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Māgh, 1997 V.E. p. 327.

not [illegible] of Kṣema's Story of Vasiṣṭ-

th[illegible]e and it is my [illegible]

th[illegible] of another[illegible] of the

r[illegible] tried to order simply

l[illegible] upon him. The alleged

a[illegible] language with that of

[illegible]

i[illegible] little capable of proof

wi[illegible] course of the [illegible] verses

i[illegible]al.

[illegible] or [illegible]-Śataka -

[illegible] of this work will

fol[illegible] the succeeding chapters.

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* Vi[illegible] (1[illegible]), published in the [illegible] 1947.

C H A P T E R IV.

THE WORKS OF ĀLAM (Continued)

PUBLISHED TEXTS.

1. Mādhavānal-Kām-Kandalā *

This fascinating metrical romance was composed in 991 A.H. at the instance of Rājā Todar Mal for the pleasure of Emperor Akbar. Both the names are eulogistically mentioned in the beginning of the work. The poem celebrates after the fashion of the Sūfī writers of Romances (Prem-Kāvya) the true and ideal love of Mādhav, a high class Brāhmaṇ youth gifted with uncommon physical beauty and extraordinary musical skill for Kām-Kandalā, the youthful and highly gifted daughter of a courtesan who was his very counterpart both in beauty and

*Vide NPR 1904(No.9);1923-25(No.8);1929-31 (No.8); 1941-43 (No.475).

accomplishments. The story in its main outline is as below:-

Jayantī one of the renowned artistes of heaven once refused out of pride to take part in a dramatic performance intended for the gods. This offended Indra who consequently cursed her to be turned into a rock for 12 years after which time she was to be relieved by a Brāhmaṇ youth, Mādhav, of Puhupāvatī.

Thus damned she lay in a forest for 12 years when ultimately Mādhav, the youthful son of Śaṅkar Dās, a priest of the king Govind Cand of Puhupāvatī delivered her of her curse. Regaining her celestial form she repaired to heaven. But before they parted they had already sold their souls to each other. The nymph, thereafter came to him from heaven off and on and they carried on their clandistine love for a time till it was detected by Indra who taking

umbrage once again cursed her thus: 'O' sinful one, thou hast once again slighted me. Thou takest pleasure in the company of mortals. Thou shalt lead the life of a courtesan in Kāmvatī. Thy lover shall have a life of perpetual wandering'.

Thus Jayantī was born as Kām-Kandalā in the city of Kāmvatī of King Kāmsen. With age her great proficiency in music and dancing attracted the King's attention and she soon became his great favourite. Mādhav during his association with Jayantī had picked up from her an exceptional skill in music. Ever since she left him he felt greatly disconsolate and wandered about playing on his lute. His Cupid-like beauty and extraordinary musical skill exercised a ravishing effect on the minds of the women of the city who would madly run after him neglecting their house-hold work. The peace of the city thus became seriously disturbed and ultimately

on representation from the people the King had to banish him. Thus his beauty and skill became his curse.

Moving from place to place he reached the city of Kāmvatī. There a great festival of music and dance was going on at the royal court. He also went there and sought admission but was refused. While he sat outside the music hall he detected a technical flaw which had escaped the ear of the king and his courtiers within. This drew the attention of the king who received him with honour due to such an eminent artist. On royal request then Mādhav gave a musical item which was widely appreciated and richly rewarded by the king. Kām - Kandalā, herself no mean musician, felt particularly fascinated by his performance. Then came her own turn for a dance item which she executed with great skill. In appreciation of her art Mādhav gave away

to her the costly present he himself had received from the king. This scant courtesy to the royal gift offended Kāmsen who ordered him to quit the town atonce.

On his way out Mādhav met Kām-Kandalā who invited him to her house. There they met and loved and loved each other passionately. Having enjoyed her love and hospitality for a number of days in hiding Mādhav decided to leave lest he should be detected by the king. Leaving her in distress he parted with a heavy heart and went to Ujjain to seek king Vikram's aid against Kāmsen. Having assured himself of his sincerity of purpose Vikram marched against Kāmsen. Before launching attack, however, he resolved to put the lovers to test. He went in disguise to Kām-Kandalā and told her that Mādhav had died of grief due to her separation. Stunned at this tragic news she fell down broken-hearted and expired

to her the costly present he himself had received from the king. This event occurred and the royal gift offended Kām. He ordered him to quit the town at once.

On his way out Madhav met Kam-Kandla who invited him to her house. There they met and loved and loved each other passionately. Having enjoyed her love and hospitality for a number of days in hiding Madhav decided to leave lest he should be detected by the king. Leaving her in distress he parted with a heavy heart and went to Ujjain to seek King Vikram's aid against Kamsen. Having assured himself of his sincerity of purpose Vikram marched against Kamsen. Before launching attack, however, he resolved to put the lovers to test. He went in disguise to Kām-Kandlā and told her that Madhav had died of grief due to her separation. Stunned at this tragic news she fell down broken-hearted and died.

with Mādhav's name on her lips. When Mādhav came to know of this he too crying for her, left his mortal coil. Vikram, greatly anguished at this double murder and finding no other way to atone for the sin, decided to commit suicide. At this most crucial juncture his tried friend Vetāla turned up and by his supernatural powers revived the lovers and thus saved the king from self-immolation. Then ensued the battle. Kāmsen was humbled and Kām-Kandalā recovered. The lovers were then united in marriage. Vikram thereafter repaired to Puhupāvatī and prevailed upon the local king Gopī Cand to permit Mādhav to return to his home. Vikram then returned to his capital and the lovers lived everafter a life of peace and happiness.

The poem begins with a salutation to Gaṇeśa and Pāra- Brahma-Parmmeśvara. Thereafter the muslim saints are eulogised and then follows a glorification of

selfless love. It ends likewise with an appreciative reference to its own merit and the glory of pure love which it celebrates.

Some of the Mss. however, present the tale in a reduced form. They omit in the preamble all reference to Gaṇeśa and the muslim saints as also the whole account relating to the history of the previous births of the lovers. The passages dealing with idealized love are also omitted both in the beginning as well as at the end. The narrative ends in them with the union of the lovers after the battle. In the body of the poem also many descriptions are less detailed. The account of the reaction of Mādhav's beauty on the women of Puhupāvatī and the description of the city of Kāmvatī may be cited as instances. The latter occupies only two dohās and five caupāis while in the bigger version we have in addition to them ten caupāis, two dohās and two sorathās.

Thus obviously there are two recensions of the poem. A detailed discussion of the relative merits and authenticity of the two recensions is beyond the scope of the present work. It may be, however, pointed out en passant that the scope and scheme of the bigger recension appear to be more homogeneously planned and systematically worked. This version fully fulfils the promise held out in its preamble regarding the scope of its subject matter and its treatment.*

The bigger recension is yet unpublished. The shorter text has been published both in Gurumukhī as well as in Devanāgarī scripts. The Gurumukhī text edited by

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*

उतपति विरह वियोग, कहै कथा आलम सुमति ।
पुनि सिंगार संयोग, नल कन्दल कारन कहत ।।

आदि सोरठा एक बनाई ।
मध्य चौपई पांच जनाई ।।
तरहर एक दोहरा लेषा ।
इह विधि पूरन ग्रंथ विशेषा ।।

Śrī Śamśer Sinh, 'Aśok' is included in the 'Rāgmālā Nirṇaya' published by Rāgmālā Nirṇaya Committee Amritsar. The Devanāgarī version is published by Hindustānī Academy, Allahabad in 'Hindī Ke Kavi aur Kāvya' Vol. III, edited by Śrī Gaṇeś Prasād Dvivedī. None of the texts is critically edited and it is difficult to vouchsafe for their authenticity. The Devanāgarī version seems to have been based on a single Ms. of extremely doubtful accuracy and consequently the text in it at several places is both unsatisfactory and incomplete. More frequently than not the readings adopted are confusing and unhelpful. Sometimes consistency is not maintained even in the case of proper names. The king of Puhupāvatī (which is also written as Puṣpāvatī) is mentioned sometimes as Gopī Cand and sometime as Govind Cand. The metre is defective at several places and the scheme of having five caupāis sandwitched between

a doha and a soratha outlined in the preamble, is found frequently violated. There are many lacunae in the texts which could have been filled up with the help of other Mss. available. Thus a critical edition of this work is still a desideratum.

The plot of the poem is not Ālam's own. In fact the story was already very popular before Ālam gave it its present shape. Several versions of the story have come down and some of them are definitely earlier than Ālam. Ālam himself has acknowledged his indebtedness to a Sanskrit version,* though the extant version of Ānandadhara does not answer fully the scope of his Mādhavānal-Kām-Kandalā, which is however fully covered by Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā-prabandha of Gaṇapati.

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*
कथा संसकृत सुनि कछु थोरी ।
भाषा बांधि चौपही जोरी ।।

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2. Ālam-Keli. *

It is a collection of miscellaneous isolated stanzas treating of Bhakti and Śṛngāra in its varied aspects. The Editio Princeps of Bhagwān Dīn contains 398 Stanzas, consisting mainly of Kavittas, Savaiyā's and a few Chappayas. Of these 293 stanzas appear under Ālam's own name, 56 stanzas under that of Sheikh while the rest 48 stanzas are anonymous. All these three types are found promiscuously mixed up with each other.

This collection is not exhaustive. It does not contain many of Ālam's widely known stanzas. Probably as the Editor suggests, it was culled during the life time of the author and therefore naturally omits stanzas composed after its compilation. The title of the poem is rather strange. It does not seem to be genuine firstly because it is not in line with the contents and

* Vide NPR. 1903.

secondly because it is not uniformly found in all Mss. many of which give the title as Ālam Ke Kavitta, Ālam Kavi Kī Kavitā etc.

The contents of the collection are not found arranged according to any particular order. Quite a good number of stanzas are devoted to the delineation of what may be called Bhakti-pūrṇa Śṛngāra or devotional love centered round Radhā and Kṛṣṇa. The fascinating and live description of Kṛṣṇa as a child with which Ālam-Keli opens and many other stanzas particularly those treated under Bhaṁvar-gīt, Udhav Kā-Lautanā, Jasodhā-Virah, Gopī-Virah etc., constitute a glowing commentary on the poets' burning passion for Kṛṣṇa which found further sustained expression in his Svām-Sanehī. Kulpati must have had some such stanzas before him when he wrote his famous appreciative stanza about Ālam.*

*

नवरस मय मूरति सदा जिन बरने नन्दलाल ।
आलम आलम बस कियौ दै निज कविता जाल ।।

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Besides stanzas dealing with Krsna or the things and spots of his associations like Vamsi, Jamunā-Nikuñj etc., we may also include in this category the 12 stanzas under Rām-Līlā, the two stanzas in praise of Ganges and the solitary stanza in praise of Śiva.

Secondly we have stanzas which sing of human love, undisguised and pure, and describe after the Rīti school the different classes of heroines navoḍhā, prauḍhā etc., The treatment of this subject of classified heroines or Nāyikābhed is neither treated according to any plan nor it is adequate. It does not reveal the mastry of the hair-splitting details of the subject which almost became an obsession with the age that followed. From poetic point of view this is a virtue with him rather than a defect. It has saved him from the fatal artificiality from which many of the ardent exponents of the Rīti

school found it difficult to escape.

Two distinct tendencies in Ālam-Keli. Thus Ālam-Keli reveals the influence of two distinct traditions of Hindī poetry. The first of these traditions i.e. of the Radhā-Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya owed its initial impetus to the great Vaiṣṇava teachers like Nimbārka, Caitanya, Vallabhācārya and others who though them-selves never wrote a word in Hindī, stimu-lated the rise and growth of this current of poetry through the writings of their followers. As a result of the preachings of these stalwart leaders of thought the greater part of northern India in the 16th century pulsated with religious zeal for the divine cowherd Kṛṣṇa- the very embodiment of Brahma or the Paramātman and his spouse Radhā- the personification of Prakṛti. Though Radhās' association with Kṛṣṇa had late recognition in the religious Vaiṣṇava literature- its earliest mention being in the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa and the Gopāla-Tāpanī Upaniṣad both of which are later

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than the Bhāgavata - the relationship had been firmly established and widely recognized sufficiently before Ālam's time. Jayadeva by his unmatched rhyming composition the Gītagovinda had immortalized in Sanskrit the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa towards the close of the 12th century A.D. His bewitching mastery of sweet and soft sounds became the model and envy of the later writers who only abortively tried to equal him. His songs, both by the beauty of their music and their meaning, appealed particularly to Caitanya and his followers who looked upon God as their lover or beloved, a feeling styled Mādhurya Bhāva or Madhurā Bhakti. Caitanya was himself known to his followers as the incarnation of Rādhā.

What Jayadeva achieved in Sanskrit Caṇḍī Dās achieved in Bengālī in the middle of the 15th century and Vidyāpati in Maithilī about the same time. The latter who may be styled as the father of lyrical

Hindī poetry has given, obviously under Jayadeva's influence, exquisite pictures of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Both Jayadeva and Vidyāpati were very popular with Caitanya and his followers who listened to their poems with the devotion due to divine hymns of praise. It must, however be admitted that the love they have pictured is not always of the purest type. Too often it smacks of the physical and the sensual and the esoteric mysticism with which it is credited is certainly not obvious to many. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have already degenerated in their hands into earthly mortals seeking out pleasures of flesh and blood and no wonder that most of the later authors who took their cue from them, miserably failed to preserve the divinity of their characters.

The fatal character of the influence which they exercised over their successors is obvious from the fact that

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even Sūrdās whose purity of emotion and its treatment cannot be disputed, has also occasionally succumbed to the temptation of depicting juvenile love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa against his original creed of Vallabhācarya.

Ālams' precursors of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-Kavya. Amongst Ālams' important predecessors or senior contemporaries who sang of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Braj dialect of Hindī may be mentioned the names of Śrī Bhatt, Hari Vyās, Swāmī Hari Dās, Hita Hari Vaṁś and Nand Dās. The first three of these belonged to the Nimbārka-school of Vaiṣṇavism which insists on the combined worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Both the Jugal-Satt of Śrī Bhatt and Mahā-Vāṇī of Hari Vyās are amongst our fine specimens of Bhakti-śṛṅgāra. Hita Hari Vaṁś was the founder of the Rādhā-Vallabhī sect which believes in Kṛṣṇa as the soul of the Universe and Rādhā as the soul of Kṛṣṇa.

Nand Dās was a celebrity of the Aṣṭa-chāp school founded by Vitthala Dāsa, the son and successor of Vallabhācarya. Thus by Ālam's time the atmosphere was surcharged with poetic zeal for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Like Rahīm, Ras Khān and others Ālam also, the child of his age, joined in the chorus.

Ālam's precursors in Nāyikā-Bhed. The second feature of the Ālam-Keli- the Nāyikā-bhed - also Ālam shared with most of the love poets of his age. In this respect also Vidyāpati had set a precedence. In him we have our first account in imitation of the Sanskrit writers of the subject of वयःसन्धि दूती मान मानभंग अभिसार मिलन विरह नखशिख which were to figure so prominently in later poetry. Kṛpārām's Hit-Taranginī which discussed in 1598 V.E. the subject of Nāyikābhed with great elaboration pre-supposes the existence of similar earlier works which unfortunately have not survived. Originally this topic must

have been the domain of those poets alone who sang exclusively of love divorced from religious-cum-devotional setting, but with the recognition of Rādhā as a full-fledged spouse of Kṛṣṇa in the religious Vaiṣṇava literature it increasingly drew the attention of the poets of the Kṛṣṇa cult. Love has always been a dominant theme with the exponents of this cult and the knowledge of Nāyikābhed is held essential for the realization of true love even by such a stalwart Bhakta poet as Nand Dās. In defence of his treatment of the subject he writes in Ras-Mañjarī:-

एक मित्र हम सौं अस गुन्यौ ।
मैं नायिकाभेद नहिं सुन्यौ ।।
जब लग इनके भेद न जानै ।
तब लग प्रेम तत्त्व न पहिचानै ।।
बिन जानै यह भेद सब, प्रेम न परचै होय ।
चरन हीन ऊंचे अचल, चढत न देख्यौ कोय ।।

" रसमंजरी "

That an apology should at all be considered necessary confirms the incompatibility of the subject with a devotional mental attitude. We must give credit to Nand Dās for his sincerity. For we know with what light-heartedness later authors dealt with erotic subjects under the pre-*text of earning religious merit. The validity of the stand of Nand Dās may not be clear to us, but the fact remains that the subject of Nāyikābhed was receiving growing attention in Ālam's time at the hands of both devotional as well as erotic writers. Sāhitya-Laharī of Sūr-Dās, Rūp-Mañjarī and Ras-Mañjarī of Nand Dās and Baravai-Nāyikābhed of Rahīm-all are proofs of the anxiety to serve a growing popular tradition. Ālam-Keli naturally shares this feature of the age. The haphazard and unclassified manner in which only a few of the varieties and sub-varieties of heroines have been treated

* आगे के सुकवि रीझिहैं तौ कबिताई,
न तौ रराधिका कन्हाई सुमिरन कौ बहानी है।

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without any reference at all to their characteristics points to the early stage of development of the subject by his time or the want of sound classical scholarship necessary for working out finer details or both.

Of all types and sub-types of heroines Ālam has illustrated only Vayah-Sandhi, Navoḍhā, Prauḍhā, Mānini, Khaṇḍitā, Pravatsyat-patikā, Nava-yauvanā, & Āgatapatikā. Even these types are not treated together in one place, they are found scattered all over the collection.

Of the three varieties Mugdhā, Madhyā and Prauḍhā of the type of heroine known as Svīyā, Ālam has treated only Mugdhā and Prauḍhā. He has omitted Madhyā altogether as also the sub-varieties of Prauḍhā. Hit-Taraṅgiṇi recognizes four sub-varieties of Mugdhā viz Ajñāta-Yauvanā, Jnāta-Yauvanā, Navoḍhā and Viśrabdha-Navoḍhā. Out of these Ālam

has treated only Navoḍhā. Again out of the three sub-varieties of Navoḍhā viz Lalitā, Vayah-Sandhi, and Uditā-Yauvanā (= Nava-Yauvanā) he has illustrated the last two. He has also illustrated the type Mānini or Mānavatī which is re-cognised by Kṛpā Rām as associated with all the three main types of Svīyā, Parakīyā and Sāmānyā, but which was later on rejected both by Keśav Dās and Cintā Maṇi and was treated by Dās under the type Khaṇḍitā . From amongst the list of ten types arranged according to the heroines' relationshp with the hero, Ālam has illustrated Abhisārikā, Khaṇḍitā, Pravatsyatpatikā, and Āgatapatikā. The last two of these did not find any place in the list enunciated by Bharata Dhanañjaya, Viśwanātha and Bhānudatta, nor were they accepted by Keśav Dās and Cintāmaṇi, but they were recognized by Kṛpārām . Thus in this respect Ālam

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definitely shows his indebtedness to the author of the Hit-Tarangini.

C H A P T E R V

THE WORKS OF ĀLAM(continued)

Syām-Sanehī(Contents).

Syām-Sanehī(SS) is a glorification of the immortal love of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. It opens in the customary orthodox fashion with benedictory stanzas in a variety of metres. The opening stanza is a chappaya in praise of the moon-crested God whose person is besmeared with ashes and adorned with serpents and who shelters the sacred Ganges in his matted hair. In the next stanza which is in Bhujanga-prayāta metre the poet invokes, for purposes of dispelling the darkness of ignorance, the supreme Spirit which is Infinite, without beginning or end. This is followed by a Dohā embodying a glorification of the Lord par excellence, Parameśvara, the Saviour of all beings(3) The next unit of eleven ardhālis continues the divine

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eulogy. God alone is the Saviour of the fallen, the Refuge of those without shelter. He is inscrutable. He transcends the scope of human thought and effort and the Scriptures know Him not. Then with an humble confession of his own inability to understand Him the poet begins the story, about the religious merits of which he is quite sure.

In Kundinpur there ruled a king Bhīṣma Sen who was brave and generous and exceedingly mindful of the interest of his subjects.(6) Through the virtue of Lord Śiva's worship he had five children, four sons namely Rukam, Rukam Bathu, Rukam Keśu, Rukam Mālī and one daughter Rukmiṇī. The princes received their education at the royal seminary while the arrangements for the education and instruction of the princess were made at home. Rukmiṇī grew up to be the embodiment of all virtues. She was extraordinarily intelligent and picked up

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all that was worth learning from her pains-taking teacher in no time as the moon did from the divine preceptor Bṛhaspati. She was beautiful and looked like an image intended for divine worship. She was devout and worshipful and went daily with her friends for Gaurī's worship. She often lost herself in the fervent recitation from the sacred hymns.

Once one of her companions suggested to her to pray to Gaurī for obtaining Krsna as her husband. 'Who is that Kṛṣṇa?' she asked her companion inquisitâvely. Thereupon her friend replied,- 'He is the self-same Lord in human form who out of mercy has from time to time come down to the rescue of this distressed world. He is Viṣṇu incarnate who in days of yore appeared on this earth in the forms of the Tortoise, the Boar, the Dwarf, the Man-Lion, Paraśu Rāma and Rāma, the son of Daśaratha! Then she narrated to her in detail, the life-story of the Prince of

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Dvārakā to which Rukmiṇī listened with rapt attention. At the end she thus appealed to the imagination of the Princess: 'You are beautiful and endowed with parts. The masterly Creator has fashioned you out of the pollens of lotuses and golden waters. You are Kamalā (Lakṣmī) herself and deserve to be united with Kṛṣṇa who is the incarnation of Viṣṇu or Kamalāpati alone'.(34).

This had a deep impression on the mind of the Princess who there and then irrevocably resolved to marry Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa alone. As days rolled by and as she gradually stepped into blooming youth, her passion for Kṛṣṇa grew in intensity. This growing passion found varied expression in her person. Feeding constantly on the dark beauty of Kṛṣṇa's image the pupils of her eyes grew darker. Constantly merged in the beauty of the yellow robed one(Kṛṣṇa) her person put on the glow of a Kesar flower(38).

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From the day Rukmiṇī heard of Kṛṣṇa's

greatness she doubled her zeal for Gaurī's worship. The Goddess duly propitiated once appeared to her in a dream and told her to ask for a boon. Rukmiṇī atonce implored the Goddess to grant her Kṛṣṇa as her husband. 'You should ask for some other boon', replied the Goddess,' for the fulfilment of this wish of yours would mean no special favour of me as you both (Kṛṣṇa & Rukmiṇī) have already been husband and wife in a previous birth in the persons of Rāma and Sītā.' Rukmiṇī felt highly gratified at this and requested to be blessed with Kāma as her son which boon was readily granted.(46).

The king and the queen came to know of Rukmiṇī's resolve regarding her marriage through her governess and they greatly welcomed it for her choice was highly worthy of her. But Rukam the eldest of the princes who had some grouse against Kṛṣṇa strongly resented this decision of theirs. He wanted her to marry Śiśupāl the king of Cedi to whom he sent an invitation to that effect

in open defiance of the wishes of his parents, who felt quite helpless before this wayward prince of stubborn will.

Śiśu-Pāl gladly accepted the invitation. Accompanied by a huge military force and the friendly chiefs Jarā Sandh, Danta Vakra and others he started for Kundinpur. When Rukmiṇī came to know of all this she felt exceedingly distressed. Her brain swam and her heart ached heavily. The life seemed to have lost all charm for her. Sorely disappointed and broken-hearted she grimly resolved to put an end to her life for how could she be persuaded to marry one to whom her heart owed no allegiance. Just then her governess came to her rescue. She calmed and comforted her and suggested to her to send an urgent message to Kṛṣṇa through the Brāhmaṇ priest of Gaurī's temple(70). Thereupon Rukmiṇī drafted a letter embodying some such sentiments. 'O Lord of Dvārkā, I am thy slave. Thou alone art the friend of the distressed and

in open defiance of the wishes of his parents who felt quite helpless before this wayward prince of stubborn will.

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the defender of the faithful. All these days I have toiled hard for thy sake. I have prayed incessantly to Gaurī to secure the service of thy feet. I have accepted thee as the Lord of my heart and my parents have approved of this and they have dedicated me to thy service. But Rukam against my confirmed resolve has decided to marry me to Śiśu Pāl whom he has already invited to this place. I am sorely disgusted with life for how could the Mālatī flower that has set its heart on the bee take to a low worm? It is only the hope of being united with thee that sustains me. Thou didst exert so hard for Sītā's sake; thou rescued Ahalyā from her curse. Thou saved the Lord of Elephants from the clutches of death. Now thou must excuse the impudence of this woman who is anxious to save her honour and dash to her aid'.(82).

Handing over the letter to the Brāhmaṇ with a promise of a generous reward for his labours she implored him to press upon the

Prince of Dvārakā the desperation and urgency of her situation and prevail upon him to run to her aid.

The Brāhmaṇ started and travelling hard for a day and night he reached Dvārakā when the sky-scrapers of the charming city with their golden turrets were slowly stepping out of the darkness of the night into a growing flood of rosy light. Reaching the royal palace he asked the door-keeper to report his arrival with an urgent letter from Kundinpur. Kṛṣṇa immediately sent for the letter. The contents of the letter sent a thrill through every fibre of his person. The whole history of the previous births suddenly flashed past before his mind's eye; the whole memory of their past relations dawned upon him with unmistakable clarity. His hair stood on end, his eyes streamed forth with tears and his lips began to throb with passion and rage. Over-whelmed with emotion he read and re-read

the letter, then folded it and pressed it to his heart. The only course of action- to rush to Rukmiṇī's aid -was atonce decided upon.

When the emotional tide subsided a little he thought of the bearer of the message who all this time had been waiting outside. With apologies and with great ~~and~~ admiration and respect due to the position of a Brāhmaṇ he received the priest, embraced him, dusted and washed his feet and offered him a seat by his own side. The Brāhmaṇ who felt greatly over-whelmed with this reception narrated the whole story of Rukmiṇī and pressed for immediate action which step was readily approved. When the Brāhmaṇ had rested, bathed and eaten, Kṛṣṇa sent for a fast chariot and sent a word to Balarama to rush to Kundinpur with a sufficiently strong force. Then taking his seat in

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that chariot which was possessed of the velocity of wind he left for Kundinpur with that Brāhmaṇ. On reaching Kundinpur he took up his stay in a mango-grove outside the city and sent the Brāhmaṇ in advance with a word of hope and reassurance for Rukmiṇī. In the mean time Balarama with his army also reached there.

Rukmiṇī had been anxiously waiting for news from Kṛṣṇa. As the marriage hour drew near she felt greatly depressed and demented. She had no doubt regarding Kṛṣṇa's sincerity. If only the message could reach him in time she was sure, he would not tarry. But the Brāhmaṇ perhaps might overstay losing his objective in the midst of generous reception. Or perhaps his poor physique would not stand the strain of a long journey and he would fail to reach Dvārakā in time. Any way her own mind was made up. If Kṛṣṇa reached her after the appointed hour he would not

find her alive. When Rukmiṇī's mind was thus being swayed by doubts and depression there reached the Brāhmaṇ bearing the news of Kṛṣṇa's arrival. Highly gratified she offered generous gifts to the Brāhmaṇ and implored him to accept the same. The Brāhmaṇ on his own part expressed his gratefulness to the Princess for having enabled him to see the Lord whose mere sight liquidates sins accumulated from life to life.

Kṛṣṇa passed that night under the trees in the grove. Early next morning he entered the city all alone asking Balarāma to keep ready for any emergency. As he proceeded his wonderous beauty perforce attracted attention. Men and women of the city rushed to see him. All eyes were fixed on him. Devotees looked upon him as God incarnate, young women as Cupid, the ascetics as Yogīśvara and the sick as panacea for all ills(129).

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The news of Kṛṣṇa's arrival greatly upset the peace of Damaghoṣa and his supporters but the ever boasting Rukam set their minds at rest by discounting Kṛṣṇa valour.

Towards the evening a little before the wedding hour Rukmiṇī was sent in a royal litter to Gaurī's temple for worship under a heavy military escort. Her governess and other close associates accompanied her. In the temple Rukmiṇī worshipped the Goddess with added zeal amidst auspicious songs of her companions. Devoutly she went round the image fervently praying for the fulfilment of her wishes. After the worship her companions put the auspicious nosegay round her neck as a gift from the Goddess, fastened round her hand the nuptial string, dusted her garments with saffron and applied the tilak and varied other adornments. While she was getting ready to leave she learnt of Kṛṣṇa's arrival outside the temple. As she emerged

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from the temple she looked like a virtual Goddess and the people's heads bent down of themselves in salutation. The simultaneous presence of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī who with their radiant beauty looked like the sun and the moon, completely overwhelmed the people. Their wonderous and dazzling beauty plunged them into a deep stupefication of amazement and they stood completely thrown off their guard(160).

Kṛṣṇa took advantage of the moment. He atonce drew the Chariot close to the temple, caught her by the arm and made her sit in the chariot and dashed forward. Kṛṣṇa stood in the chariot with his face towards the crowd brandishing his sword. It was not before they had covered some distance that the people recovered themselves and raised alarm. The news spread like wild fire. The bridegrooms' party which was then being entertained to a right royal dinner suddenly broke up and gave a

to be the marriage party and expected to find the bride and her companions in the litters that accommodated only men with broken limbs. When she came to know of the facts her despair knew no bounds(171).

When Kṛṣṇa reached Dvārakā where the news of his victory had reached before him, the whole city came out to receive the royal pair. The preparations were then made for the celebration of the marriage which was performed according to Vedic rites amidst chanting of the Vedic hymns (177).

At the end the poet tells us that for this immortal story he is indebted to the tenth skandha of the Bhāgavata the text of which being difficult for common people, he thought it necessary to render into sweet dohas and caupais. He concludes with a statement of the religious merit which accrues from a devout recital of the poem(184).

CHAPTER. VI.

Syām-Sanehī and Śrīmad Bhāgavata.

The author of Syām-Sanehī has drawn heavily upon the Bhāgavata for the theme of his poem and he has made no secret of it. At the end of the poem he acknowledges in unmistakable terms his indebtedness to that great work:-

पहिले सुनी भागवत रीति ।
दसम माहिं रुकमिनि की प्रीति ।।
× × × × ×
× × × × ×
बानी व्यास समझ नहीं आवै ।
टीकाकार कछू समझावै ।।
ऐसी आंकन की कठिनाई ।
तिह भाखा किउं जाइ बनाई ।।
जउ कवि समझि बुद्धि अनुसरै ।
एक आंक की पोथी करै ।।
तउ कछु गति अनचीन्ही चीन्ही ।
चित मति चाह एक मै कीन्ही ।।
ताही रस रसना लै पोखी ।
सुमरि नाम रस लई संतोखी ।।
कीने सरसु चौपई दोहा ।
करत हियो पघरो हुइ लोहा ।।

Yet this poem is not a mere rendering of the original. It is much more than that. Both in form and in substance it shows quite an independent angle of approach to the subject.

Form of the poem.

To begin with it has a certain self completeness about it. Its beginning and end both lend support to the independent character of the poem. The formal and customary fashion in which it begins with salutatory stanzas in divine praise and the equally formal manner in which it ends with a statement of its source and purposes- both establish the same point. This importance does not attach to the episode in the original where it is only a part of the general scheme of treatment of Kṛṣṇa's doings.

Substance: Ālam's innovations in the plot.

In point of substance also the poet has made many innovations in the

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Substance: Alam's innovations in the plot.

In point of substance also the poet has made many innovations in the

original which considerably add to the artistic effects of the poem. The graphic account of Rukmiṇī in the beginning, the story of her birth, up-bringing and education, the table of the past greatness of Kṛṣṇa which explains the present relations of the lovers, the scene of Śiśupāl's return to Canderī after the rout of the allied armies and finally the marriage - scene on the arrival of the couple in Dvārakā- are some of the very important creations of the poet's mind. All these have their own place in the poem. In addition to them the poet has imparted many touches here and there which atonce mark him out as a great artist and a master of details.

For instance

1. By making Gaurī's worship a part and parcel of the daily life of the Princess from the days of her childhood the poet in a very subtle manner has met

the objection that the suspicious Rukam could have legitimately taken against her going to the temple outside the city on the eve of her marriage.

2. By making the Princess go out for worship in a litter as against her going on foot in the Bhāgavata he has defended royal status and practice. The same point is obvious in his not letting the Brāhmaṇ messenger into Kṛṣṇa's presence without previous announcement as in the case of the Bhāgavata.

3. By mentioning just a few facts regarding the early wayward life of Rukam which the Bhāgavata omits to do, the poet has been able to explain his aberrant and defiant attitude with regard to Rukmiṇī's marriage and thus impart consistency to his character.

4. By his reference to the dinner of the bridegroom's party on the eve of the marriage the poet has atonce made the

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picture realistic. We all know how important an item is the dinner in an Indian marriage.

The scheme and treatment of <u>characters compared.</u>

The poet's art and achievement become obvious when we consider the scheme and treatment of his characters. Amongst the minor characters the governess is entirely his own. She has no place in the original. It is quite a useful addition in as much as it helps to place the Princess in a more homely atmosphere. Without her the life of the Princess would have been quite hard to sustain.

As regards Rukam it has already been pointed out that his conduct and character in the Bhāgavata remain unexplained. The author of the Bhāgavata omitted to give any facts pertaining to his early life in the light of which his later conduct could be properly understood. Ālam on the other hand has given here and there

a glimpse of the way he was going so that his later obstimacy and defiance regarding Rukmiṇī's marriage do not surprise the reader. By taking care to provide a kind of justification for his conduct the poet has definitely shown better taste and judgment. Again by giving a place to Rukmiṇī's mother, her governess and her companions the poet has been able to create a homely, healthy and natural atmosphere so very helpful to the evolution of Rukmiṇī's character.

Rukmiṇī's father also in SS is a little more exerting. In the Bhāgavata he expresses the mere wish to marry Rukmiṇī to Kṛṣṇa but does not himself do anything to further that end. In SS in consultation with his wife and priest he prepares to send invitation to Kṛṣṇa in the presence of Rukam. As

As regards the other characters Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa and the Brāhmaṇ- all the

three have undergone substantial change in the poet's hands.

Rukmiṇī.) Rukmiṇī in the Bhāgavata is dashing, passionate and hazardously bold. This is amply borne out by her letter to Kṛṣṇa which has neither the sanction of her parents, nor the approval of her friends nor even the blessings of the Goddess. With frankness that errs against decency she states in the letter that her mind drawn by the tales of Kṛṣṇa's virtues has finally fixed itself on him, casting all shame to the winds, and further suggests the ways and means of her own abduction or union by Rākṣasa form of marriage.

Rukmiṇī in SS, however is most serious and bashful and quite conscious of the dignity and restraint that her royal status demand. Her love for Kṛṣṇa is the result of a very gradual evolution of her mind brought about by the persuasion of

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her friends, the promise of the Goddess and the sanction of her parents. Though often reaching heights of passionate intensity her love seldom transgresses the proper bounds of decorum. Her attempt to send a message to Kṛṣṇa is backed by the explicit approval of her friends and the moral support of her parents, the divine boon of the Goddess and good wishes of the people, all of whom would be genuinely happy in case she could secure Kṛṣṇa as her husband. Her stand in the letter is just and virtuous of which any girl of a respectable family could be justly proud.

Rukminī in the Bhāgavata is superstitious, credulous and quixotic. On the eve of her marriage she is feeling very much worried and is most anxiously waiting for some news from Kṛṣṇa. She curses herself and her stars. She thinks there must be something seriously and fundamentally wrong with her, otherwise Kṛṣṇa must

have responded to her love. Perhaps her fates are against her or perhaps the family deity is unfavourable. When she is thus lost in thoughts she suddenly feels the throbbing of her left limbs and lo! there comes back the Brāhmaṇ messenger. But he need not speak to her about Kṛṣṇa's arrival for she has already understood everything from his smiling face and her own throbbing limbs.

But Rukmiṇī in SS shows more realism and naturalness. In her hour of worry and distress she thinks of an add--ed factor that could be responsible for Kṛṣṇa's delay. That is the Brāhmaṇ. Perhaps he is over-staying having been taken in by Kṛṣṇa's generous reception or perhaps-which is more likely- his weak health had prevented him from reaching Dvārakā and delivering the message in time. She does not doubt the sincerity of Kṛṣṇa. He would definitely

have responded to her love. Perhaps her fate was against her or perhaps the family deity is unfavourable. When she is thus lost in thoughts she suddenly feels the throbbing of her left limbs and lo! there comes back the Brahman messenger. But he need not speak to her about Kṛṣṇa's arrival for she has already understood everything from his smiling face and her own throbbing limbs.

But Rukmiṇī in 53 shows more realism and naturalness. In her hour of worry and distress she thinks of an added factor that could be responsible for Kṛṣṇa's delay. That is the Brahman. Perhaps he is over-staying having been taken in by Kṛṣṇa's generous reception or perhaps-which is more likely- his weak health had prevented him from reaching Dvārakā and delivering the message in time. She does not doubt the sincerity of Kṛṣṇa. He would definitely

respond if only the message could reach him in time. That Ruk-miṇī should have entertained such doubts and misgivings regarding the Brāhmaṇ in that situation would be quite natural and shows the poet's great psychological understanding. Again when Rukmiṇī's companions bring to her the news of the Brāhman's arrival her anxiety is not suddenly relieved by the throbbing of her limbs and other like omens, but continues unabated till the Brāhmaṇ has actually spoken out- nay even after that. It is not until she has completely emerged from the feeling of vague stupefication which had suddenly seized her as a result of her extreme anxiety that she is assured of the reality of the scene. After the Brāhmaṇ has reported Krsna's arrival she truly, like a woman lost in love, advances volleys of questions regarding Kṛṣṇa and his doings.

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Krsna) The character of Krsna also has substantially changed in the poet's hands.

Krsna in the Bhāgavata suffers from a comparative lack of feeling. When the Brāhmaṇ is ushered into his presence he, as would have been quite natural in the circumstances, does not ask him there and then to state the purpose of his visit to Dvārakā but waits till the Brāhmaṇ has eaten and rested. Nor does the Brāhmaṇ show any anxiety to deliver his message without loss of time. All this is highly unnatural on the part of Krsna and almost criminal on the part of the Brāhmaṇ.

In SS on the other hand the letter is immediately sent for on report and for a while the presence of the Brahman is forgotten in the heat of emotion and excitement which is quite natural and excusable.

The point is that with the author of the Bhāgavata it is the Brāhmaṇ and his reception that matter while with the author of SS it is the message which is more important.

In the Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa accompanied by the Brāhmaṇ leaves Dvārakā with an army and Balarāma apprehending evil follows them. On reaching Kundinpur he enters the city with his army, unmindful of the consequences which must result from any untimely clash of his soldiers with the forces of Rukam and his allies. In SS he stays for the night outside and enters the city all alone next morning leaving the army behind under the command of Balarāma. This avoids unnecessary suspicion on the part of the rival princes who sense no harm in his lone presence.

Thus while Kṛṣṇa in the Bhāgavata is uncalculating and over

confident, in SS he is more shrewd, far-sighted and humanly cautious in his plans.

The Brāhmaṇ.) The Brāhmaṇ also has considerably improved in the poet's hands. In the Bhāgavata he is to some extent careless, fond of eating and more anxious about his own reception than for his business. He fails to show legitimate anxiety for delivering the message without formality or delay as the urgency of the situation demanded. He keeps mum till Kṛṣṇa asks him to explain his visit while shampooing his feet after he had rested and eaten.

The Brāhmaṇ in SS is more dutiful and selfless. He is unmindful of his personal discomfort and solely concerned with the honest discharge of the onerous task entrusted to him. He is not puffed up, like his replica in the Bhāgavata, with the attentions he receives from Krsna but on the other hand is grateful for having had the privilege of

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seeing Him whose sight meant liquidation of evil.

It is thus obvious that the poet's handling of his characters and their emotion is definitely more clever than that of the author of the Bhāgavata. His characters are more consistent, more natural and human. Although they have perfect freedom to act, they willingly submit themselves to healthy restraint enjoined by their family status and position. From beginning to end the poet's anxiety to keep up a certain order is obvious.

But it is not only in point of characterization alone that the poet has scored a point. In point of poetic beauty also he shows in several places more imagination and wealth of detail. We shall discuss here only a few instances in support of this.

(1)Krsna's entry into Kundinpur.) Both Bhāgavata and SS have described Krsna's entry into the city of Kundinpur. The description in the Bhāgavata is brief and occupies only three stanzas:-

कृष्णमागतमाकर्ण्य विदर्भ पुरवासिन: ।
आगत्य नेत्राजलिभि: पपुस्तन्मुखपंकजम् ।। ३६ ।।

अस्यैव भार्या भवितुं रुक्मिण्यर्हति नापरा ।
असावप्यनवद्यात्मा भैष्म्या: समुचित: पति: ।। ३७ ।।

किंचित्सुचरितं यन्नस्तेन तुष्टस्त्रिलोककृत् ।
अनुगृह्णातु गृह्णातु वैदर्भ्या: पाणिमच्युत : ।। ३८ ।।

The description is obviously common-place and without any special poetic charm. In SS (St.127-130) the theme is treated with great beauty and poetic skill:-eg.

पैठत नगर देख नर नारी ।
मोहित सुधि बुधि सबनि बिसारी ।।
सगर नगर घर घर अकुलायो ।
नर नारी देखनि सब धायो ।। 104. 3-6

सुर नर त्रिद्ध तरुन अउ बारे ।
देखत भए चित्रगति सारे ।।
सुत हित भूलि जननि कहिँ जाईं ।
बालक देखि बिसारहि माईं ।।
थिर थिर जस पीपल दल करही ।
पाछत पाउं न आगे धरही ।। 104. 7-12

Comment is superfluous. Ālam's account beyond doubt shows more imagination and poetic flight and is quite worthy of a great poet.

(2) The description of Rukmiṇī as she emerges from the temple.) The scene when Rukmiṇī moves out of the temple after Gaurī's worship is highly poetic in the Bhāgavata. It is in fact the best spot in the whole of the episode. The graphic account of the ravishing beauty of the Princess and its devastating reaction on the minds of the royal princes on both sides of the walk, is really worthy

of its great author eg.

तां देवमायामिव वीरमोहिनीं

सुमध्यमां कुण्डलमण्डिताननाम् ॥

श्यामां नितम्बार्पितरत्नमेखलां,

व्यंजत्स्तनीं कुन्तलशङ्कितेक्षणाम् ॥ ५१ ॥

शुचिस्मितां बिम्बफलाधरद्युति-

शोणायमान द्विज कुन्द कुड्मलाम् ।

पदा चलन्तीं कलहंसगामिनीं

सिंजत्कला नूपुर धामशोभिना ॥ ५२ ॥

विलोक्य वीरा मुमुहुः समागता

यशस्विनस्तत्कृतहृच्छयार्दिता : ॥५३॥

यां वीक्ष्य ते नृपतयस्तदुदारहास-

व्रीडावलोकहृत चेतस उज्झितास्त्रा : ।

पेतुः क्षितौ गजरथाश्वगता विमूढा:

यात्राच्छलेन हरयेऽर्पयतीं स्वशोभाम् ॥५४॥

When, however, we compare this beautiful description with the account in SS (St.149-153) we find that the picture in the Bhāgavata is comparatively incomplete and lacks restraint.

It is incomplete in the sense that while it describes the re-action of Rukmiṇī's powerful personal charms on the minds of the on-looking princes it completely omits to give a peep of her m inner mind as Ālam has done. Ālam's picture is here more consistent, opportune and psychological. It is perfectly natural that Rukmiṇī at that time should be worriedly concerned about her union with Kṛṣṇa as painted by him. Thus while the author of the Bhāgavata has his eye fixed only on the exterior of her person Ālam has been able to see through her dazzling beauty the inner struggle in her mind also.

Again the use of epithets such as व्यञ्जत्स्तनी, नितम्बार्पितरत्नमेखला etc. though flawless from view-point of classical writers on rhetoric, errs seriously against the modern taste which Ālam in avoiding description of indelicate kind, so admirably anticipated.

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Rukmiṇī's beauty in the Bhāgavata on the face of it is carnal while in the SS it is definitely spiritual. The bewitching beauty of the Princess in the Bhāgavata sends such a tide of passion through the princes that for a moment their brains whirl in a dizzy maze. The charms of her person, her fascinating looks and winning smile have completely vanquished them and they sink in their seats thus facilitating Kṛṣṇa's carrying her off. In SS also it is thought necessary to put the princes off their guard but here the purpose is accomplished through the wonderous beauty of Kṛṣṇa instead of Rukmiṇī. Rukmiṇī has been elevated and invested with a divine glow that perforce exacts respectful homage instead of carnal admiration.

We have already discussed above the relative merits of the description of Rukmiṇī anxiously waiting for Kṛṣṇa's news just on the eve of her marriage.

Thus it is obvious that Ālam has not slavishly followed his originals. He

has introduced several new elements greatly adding to the smoothness and harmony of the incidents in the poem. In point of common themes of description his gifted imagination and poetic insight have enabled him to improve the effects of his originals almost beyond recognition.

CHAPTER VII

SYĀM-SANEHĪ IN RELATION TO SOME OTHER IMPORTANT WORKS DEALING WITH THE SAME THEME.

1. Rukmiṇī-Maṅgal(RM) of Nand Dās & SS.

Of great interest and poetic beauty is the Rukmiṇī-Maṅgal of Nand Dās, that veteran poet of the Aṣṭachāp group who in point of greatness and popularity is reckoned second only to Sūr Dās. The poem treats of the same story of the marriage of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa in a highly finished style in Rolā metre. The title of the poem which came to be adopted by many later writers on the same theme owed its inspiration in all probability to the attempts like Jānakī-Maṅgal and Pārvatī-Maṅgal of the poet's cousin Tulasī Dās, the author of the immortal Rām-carit-mānas.

The poem omits all the earlier

details of the story in the Bhāgavata upon which it is evidently based and opens abruptly with a description of Rukmiṇī's despair consequent on her brother's resolve to marry her to Śiśu Pāl. The battle scene of the Bhāgavata is merely hinted here and not developed. The later details relating to Kṛṣṇa's attempt to kill Rukam in action before Rukmiṇī's very eyes, the latters' discomfiture at her brothers' humiliation etc are omitted. But this is more than made up by a brilliant addition of the description of Dvārakā and by added attention to the description of Rukmiṇī's love and her powerful personal beauty as she emerged from the temple as also the description of Kṛṣṇa's dramatic entry into the city of Kundinpur. These descriptions, really speaking constitute the most brilliant spots in RM. By omitting several details of the original story

and concentrating on a few purple patches which afforded great opportunity for display of poetic fancy and imagination, Nand Das has been able to create within his self-imposed limits a Khaṇḍa-Kāvya full of beauty and pulsating with emotion.

Both RM & SS drew their inspiration from the Bhāgavata. Yet they are very much different from each other in point of their structure, treatment and effect. SS like its prototype is primarily a Gāthā of the Paurāṇic type. Though its author has introduced substantial improvements dictated by his artistic sense, he has never-the-less kept loyal to the frame-work of the original story. His changes are more or less aimed at filling the lacunae and smoothing the oddities in the original, thus making the picture more detailed and consistent as also more psychologically tenable. The

story has all the essentials of an independent unit and its characters within their limited sphere of action, display a good deal of human nature and motives.

The Rukmiṇī-Maṅgal on the other hand lacks all these essentials. It begins abruptly and ends likewise with a brief reference to the religious merit of the poem. In its body it omits many essential points of detail which only proves the subordination of the narrative interest in it to the poet's desire to concentrate on certain spots. For characterization there is not much room in this torso which, like all of Nand Dāsa's other works, seems to have been intended primarily to give expression to the poet's devotional zeal or the main points of his creed. The attention is concentrated, therefore, on those points alone a description of which is likely to receive impetus from the poet's religious

feeling. This has reduced the poem to a few brilliant descriptions slenderly knit together by the narrative thread rather than a cleverly planned and artistically executed plot.

In point of story RM omits the entire account of the early history of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa prior to the disclosure of Rukami's intentions to marry her to Śiśu Pāl. The description of the battle and Śiśu Pāl's return to his capital after his defeat as also the marriage-scene in Dvārakā are also omitted. These are major omissions. All these have a vital role in the Syām-Sanehī In fact RM omits almost all the details which do not belong to the Bhāgavata, and are solely Ālam's own creation. The idea of Rukmiṇī's sending a letter to Kṛṣṇa is common to both RM & SS as against Bhāgavata which has reference

apparently to an oral message only. But while in RM the letter is read out by the Brāhmaṇ as Kṛṣṇa's tearful eyes do not make it possible for him to do so himself, in SS it is Kṛṣṇa himself who reads it despite an equally heavy strain on his emotions. As regards its contents the message in RM is brief after its original while in SS it displays greater detail and originality. Both, however, share Rukmiṇī's restraint in the letter in refraining from suggesting openly the ways and means of her abduction as done in the Bhāgavata. In both again Rukmiṇī has the support of divine blessings in her ambition for union with Kṛṣṇa.*

The comparison of the two poems from view-point of characterization would be of little value for RM has practically

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* हृवै प्रसन्न अंबिका कहति, सुनि रुकमिनि सुंदरि ।
पैहै अब गोबिंद चंद , जिय जिनि विषाद करि नौ। R.M. 219-20

nothing to offer in this direction. The parents of Rukmiṇī are missing in it and so also the governess. The Brāhmaṇ is a mere bearer of the message and Kṛṣṇa himself is not much concerned with any important action. The character of Rukmiṇī herself lacks distinction and is very much like all conventional gopīs or like any conventional heroine pining in separation. Ālam's characters have definitely more life and individuality.

As indicated above the greatness of RM lies in a few descriptions of concentrated beauty and it will not be without interest to compare these with the relevant portions in SS.

1. The description of Rukmiṇī's love and despair in RM is a fine piece of poetic beauty. In wealth of detail and imagery it can rank with any fine picture of the kind.

सुसम कुसम के हार, उदार सखी गुहि लावैं ।
कर सौं कुंवरि न परसै, अर सौं निकट धरावैं ।। १७
अपने कर जु बिरह जुर जानति अति ही तातै ।
मति मुरझाइ सो माला, बाला डरपति यातै ।। १९
मिटी भूख अरु प्यास, पास कोउ और न भावै ।
कीने जाइ उसास भरै, दुख कहत न आवै ।। २१
दुरी न रहति पिय आरति, प्रगटहि देति दिखाई ।
पुलकि अंग, स्वर भंग, स्वेद, कबहुं जड़ताई ।। २३
उर बर थर थर कंपत, चिंतत कुंवर कन्हाई ।
कबहुं टकी लगि जाइ, कबहुं आवत मुरझाई ।। २५
ह्वै गयौ कछु बिबरन तन, छाजत यौं छबि छाई ।
रूप अनूपम बेलि, तनक मनु घाम मैं आई ।। २७

RM 17-27

The account obviously would satisfy the expectations of any stern exponent of the Śṛṅgāra-śāstra . But this apparent virtue has resulted in overdrawing. Ālam's description though lacking in the finish of Nand Dās has a kind of more naturalness about it:

सुनत कुँवरि रुकमिनि सुकुंवारी ।
गइ मुरझाइ बज्र जनु मारी ।।
समुझि कहसि अब देहहि छांडउ ।
जीभ मूल दसननि सिउं खंडउ
ले घनसार घोलि कै पीयउं ।।
कुलहि लाज जौ अब छिनु जीयउं ।।
प्रेम झँप कारन जिय देऊँ ।
अब इह मंदर सिउं घस लेऊँ ।।
इह परिहस कैसे कर जीजै ।
हंस ठउरि जहं कागु सुनीजै ।।
कागु कुचीरु कुचीलहि पढई ।
तुलसी सालग्रामहि चढई ।।
कमुद चंद्रमा सिउं मुसकाई ।
जौन्ह बिगास घाम मुरझाई ।।
सरित प्रीत मै स्याम सनेही ।
तिह महि रही मीन ह्वै देही ।।
तरफै तनक तीर कै डारै ।
जियै न नैक नीर ते न्यारै ।। 51. 7-12; 52. 1-12.

2. The description of Krsna's beauty in RM is another masterpiece of Nand Dās:

पुर के लोगन सुनी, कि श्री सुन्दर बर आये ।
जहां तहां तैं आये, देखि हरि विस्मय पाये ।।

कोटि काम लावण्य धाम, अंग साँवरे पिय के ।
जे जे जाकी दृष्टि परे, ते भये तित ही के ।।
कोउ जो अलक छबि उरझै, अजहूं नाहिंन सुरझै ।
ललित लटपटी पगिया, तकि तकि तहं तहं मुरझै ।।
कोउ कटीली भौंहन, निरखत बिबस करे हैं ।
कोउ कोउ दृग छबि गिनत गिनत ही हारि परे हैं ।।
कोउ श्रवनन-कुंडल-मंडल, चंचल जोती ।
निरखत ही मिलि गये, भये जलनिधि के मोती ।।
इत्यादि ।। RM 167-176

Here the effect of the powerful charm of the different parts of Kṛṣṇa's person is described. Ālam's reaction to the situation is slightly different and in a way better. Whereas the appeal of Kṛṣṇa's beauty in RM is exclusively of the flesh , in SS it is varied. Kṛṣṇa's beauty re-acts differently with different people varying with the mental attitude of the on-lookers.:

पैठत नगर देख नरनारी ।
मोहित सुधि - बुधि सभनि विसारी ।। इत्यादि 104.3-4

3. The description of Rukmiṇī's beauty as she emerged from the temple after Gaurī's

propitiation is another purple spot of RM:

मंद मंद पग धरै, चंदमुख किरन बिराजैं ।
मनिमय नूपुर साजै, मनमथ बीन से बाजैं ।।
अरुन चरन प्रतिबिंब , अवनि मैं यौं उनमानी ।
जनु धर अपनी जीभ, धरति पग कोमल जानी ।। २१३ – २१६

सोभासदन बदन मैं, रदन छबि राजत ऐसैं ।
अरुण बदल मैं दमकत, दामिनि अंकुर जैसैं ।।
स्रवननि सुंदर खुभी, चुभी सब के मन ऐसैं ।
काम कलभ की अब हीं, उलही दंतिया जैसैं ।।
अली अंस भुज दिये, निहारति, अलक सुधारति ।
सर कटाच्छ रस भरै, सुतकि तकि भूपन मारति ।।
परै जहां तहां मुरझि, भूप सब उरझि उरेझा ।
पांच बान सर साधि, करै मनमथ के बेझा ।।
२२१ – २२८

There is no doubt the account is live, picturesque and poetic. But the line of argument is the same as in the description of Kṛṣṇa's beauty. Ālam has handled the situation differently. The princes are stunned at the bewitching sight of Kṛṣṇa's beauty and they look upon Rukmiṇī as the virtual goddess emerging from the sanctuary. She does not excite their passion but exacts

reverential admiration:

निकसत वदन रुपछवि बिगसी ।
लोगन जान्यो देवी निकसी ।। 124.7-8

ससि मुख के सनमुख गिरि पर हीं ।
देवी जानि दंडवत करहीं ।। 125.7-8

2. The Veli of Rāṭhor Prithī Rāj and Syām-Sanehī.

The same episode has been treated in a spirited manner in the वेलि क्रिसन रुकमणी री by the royal devotee of Kṛṣṇa, Rāṭhor Prithī Rāj of Bikaner, ' one of the most fulgent gems in the rich mine of the Rājasthānī Literature' . The poem which was composed in 1637 V.E.[*1] has been very popular in Rājasthān and widely commented. Āḍhā Jī Durasā, a contemporary poet acclaimed it as the fifth Veda or the nineteenth Purāṇa.[*2] The author himself also has eulogized the

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*1 वरसि अचल गुण अंग ससी संवति
तवियौ जस करि श्री भरतार ।
करि श्रवणे दिन रात कंठ करि
पायै श्री फल भगति अपार ।। st. 305

* 2 रुकमणि गुण लखण रूप गुण रचावण
'वेलि' तासु कुण करै वखाण ।
पांचमौ वेद भाख्यौ पीथल
पुणियौ उगणीसवौं पुराण ।।

religious merits of the poem towards its close.

The story follows the Bhāgavata* both in out-line as well as essential details. The main points of interest in the story are treated in similar fashion. The brief account of the entry of the Yādava Princes into the city of Kundinpur, the description of the Princess as she waited for Kṛṣṇa's news as also of her dramatic emergence from the temple after worship may be cited as some of the instances. Among the very few variations we may mention its use of the letter as against the oral message of the original and the restoration of the hair on Rukmī's shaven head by Kṛṣṇa's magic touch of the

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वल्ली तसु बीज भागवत वायौ,
महि थाणौ पृथुदास मुख ।
मूल ताल जड़ अरथ मण्डेह,
सुथिर करणि चढि छांह सुख ॥ St 291

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hand. The account of the battle-scene though conventional has not much in common with the original. The description of feminine beauty is more after the erotic exponents of the Rīti school and the fact of the hero and the heroine being the worshipful deities which the author concedes fails to call forth in him the necessary restraint. That Kṛṣṇa should employ Sanskrit* - and that too not correct- while asking the messenger the purpose of his visit is altogether indefensible as also is the recourse to supernatural device which enables him to suddenly land from the air amidst rows of hostile princes.

As compared with SS the Veli omits

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कस्मात् कस्मिन् किल मित्र किमर्थं
केन कार्यं परियासि कुत्र ।
ब्रूहि जनेन येन भो ब्राह्मण
पुरतो मे प्रेषितम् पत्र ॥ St. 55

all the original features introduced by Ālam excepting the letter, and therefore our criticism of Bhāgavata fully applies to it also. We may add that SS stops immediately after the celebration of marriage while the Veli continues to describe after marriage the conjugal pleasures of the newly wedded pair, fanned by the varied seasons. Both the hero and the heroine in the former are sober and considerate while in the latter they are pleasure-seeking and lacking in restraint. Ālam shows throughout the anxiety to maintain the sublimity of his characters without over-burdening them with inconvenient superhuman powers while the author of the Veli, conceding the divinity of his characters, forgets to associate with them restraint and sobriety which divinity necessarily required.

3. Rukminī-Maṅgal of Hṛdaya Rām & Śyām-Sanehī.

A somewhat difficult attempt to render the story of the Bhāgavata exclusively into Kavittas is made towards the close of the 17th century V.E. by Hṛdaya Rām in his Rukmini-Maṅgal, a Ms. of which was examined by me in the Lal Chand Library D.A.V. College, Lahore. The Ms. is unfortunately incomplete and out of a total of 106 stanzas as many as 35 viz 69-103 are missing. The attempt on the whole is not very satisfactory. The author has failed to present a connected account with any sustained flow which objective would be normally difficult to achieve through the inconvenient vehicle of the Kavitta. What we actually have is a kind of collection of independent stanzas linked together through the awkard device of रुक्मिणी उवाच, द्विज उवाच The effect is far from impressive from view-point of poetic art though substantial merit cannot be denied to individual stanzas.

judged by itself each stanza is a picture of considerable beauty and merit.

The story as we have it is incomplete. It is carried from the beginning to the point when Rukmiṇī with the permission of her brother goes out for Gaurī's worship. The three concluding stanzas describe the release of Rukam from Kṛṣṇa's bondage through the intercession of Rukmiṇī. From what we have it is clear that the author did not make any serious departure from the Bhāgavata. His characters are stereotyped and do not reveal any marked change in their attitude from the original as is evident in the case of SS. Only his Brāhmaṇ is more selfish, businesslike and more mindful of the interest of himself and his family than his replica in SS who is self-sacrificing and dutiful. He is persuaded to undertake the mission after acceptance of rich gifts and before setting off he demands proper care of his wife and family during his absence from Kundinpur.

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4. Prem-Sāgar & Syām-Sanehī.

The episode of Rukmiṇī has also been treated in the Prem-Sāgar of Lallu Lāl, who flourished in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. The work reproduces the tale of the tenth Skandha of the Bhāgavata into prose and occasional verse and probably drew liberally upon an earlier translation into dohās and caupāīs by one Caturbhuj Miśra, as referred to by its editor Śrī Brajratna Dās. Prem-Sāgar's version of the story has nothing fresh to offer. It does not reveal any substantial departure from the original. By introducing the letter in addition to the oral message of the Bhāgavata the author did create an opportunity for poetic display but failed altogether to avail of it by not touching upon its contents at all. The description of the marriage-scene certainly goes beyond the original but there is no special point about it. It has definitely less of life and naturalness as compared to SS.

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The episode of Rukminī has also been treated in the Prem-Sāgar of Lallu Lāl, who flourished in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. The work reproduces the tale of the tenth Skandha of the Bhāgavata into prose and occasional verse and probably drew liberally upon an earlier translation into dohās and caupāīs by one Caturbhuj Miśra, as referred to by its editor Śrī Brajratna Dās. Prem-Sāgar's version of the story has nothing fresh to offer. It does not reveal any substantial departure from the original. By introducing the letter in addition to the oral message of the Bhāgavata the author did create an opportunity for poetic display but failed altogether to avail of it by not touching upon its contents at all. The description of the marriage-scene certainly goes beyond the original but there is no special point about it. It has definitely less of life and naturalness as compared to SS.

5. Rukmiṇī-Pariṇaya (RP) of Raghu Rāj Sinh and Syām-Sanehī.

The Rukmiṇī-Pariṇaya (RP) of Raghu Raj Sinh describes the story of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa in 20 cantos with a brief synopsis of the Bhāgvata in the 21st. The first two cantos are occupied with the birth and early life of Kṛṣṇa upto his finally settling down in Dvārakā. Canto III describes in detail the beauty of the divine city while the fourth deals with Bal Rām's marriage with Revatī. Canto V describes how king Bhīṣmak with the consent of his queen and courtiers proposed to marry his only daughter to Kṛṣṇa which proposal is vehemently opposed by the crown-Prince Rukmī who expresses himself in favour of Śiśu Pāl as her husband. The canto ends with the arrival of the sage Nārad who after a warm welcome is introduced by the king to Rukmiṇī in the palace at his own express wish. In canto VI Nārad relates to the Princess the great qualities of the

divine prince Kṛṣṇa. In canto VII Rukmī invites Śiśu Pāl inspite of Rukmiṇī's resolve to marry Kṛṣṇa and her parents' support to it. The Princess is very much upset by the news of Śiśu Pāl's arrival and hurriedly arranges to send through the priest of Gaurī's temple a personal letter to Kṛṣṇa.

Canto VIII is occupied with a detailed description of the personal charms of Rukmiṇī as narrated by Nārad to Kṛṣṇa with a view to impress upon him the need and propriety of accepting Rukmiṇī as his wife. In Canto IX the priest delivers the message of the Princess to Kṛṣṇa who pledging prompt action immediately prepares for Kundinpur. On reaching there the priest advises Kṛṣṇa to stay in the grove outside the city and himself repairs to the Princess. Canto X describes Bal Rām's arrival in Kundinpur with a strong military force to the assistance of Kṛṣṇa. Both Kṛṣṇa and

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Bal Ram are given a right royal reception by Bhīṣmak which is resented by Rukmi.

The priest imparts to the anxiously awaiting Princess the re-assuring news of Kṛṣṇa's arrival and asks for a return message. Accordingly she requests him to convey to Kṛṣṇa that she would be going that very evening to Gaurī's temple for worship and that he must take her off from there in his chariot. The message is duly conveyed and Kṛṣṇa after having fully discussed his plan of action with Uddhav, Bal Rām and others takes up his place in hiding somewhere near the temple waiting for the arrival of Rukminī.

In canto XI Śiśu Pāl on Kṛṣṇa's arrival sends for all his friendly chiefs as also his father and king Bhīsmak for consultation. But the assembly does nothing beyond pointlessly running down Kṛṣṇa's valour or minimising his fighting strength. Bhīṣhmak, unable to put up with undeserved insults repeatedly piled on Kṛṣṇa's head which appears

to him nothing short of blasphemy, suddenly leaves the assembly in disgust which attitude is vehemently resented by his son.

After Bhīṣmak has left Rukmī impresses upon the Chiefs the need to accompany the Princess to the temple in adequate strength which is agreed. Heavily guarded the Princess proceeds to the temple where she worships the goddess fervently praying for the fulfilment of her wishes. As a token of acceptance of her prayer the goddess lets slip from the image a garland which is atonce taken up by the priests' wife and put round the neck of the princess.

As Rukmiṇī emerges from the sanctuary all eyes turn to her. By her ravishing beauty which has completely stupefied the guardsmen making them forget their job, she succeeds in accomplishing what would have been the envy of even armed strength. Before they could recover Kṛṣṇa dashes forward in his chariot and takes away the Princess as a lion would seize his share from midst of

the jackals.

In canto XII the allied armies give a hot chase to Kṛṣṇa who had by then joined the forces of Bal Rām which prepare to engage the pursuing enemy. Canto XIII & XIV are occupied with the description of the deadly clash. Śiśu Pāl and his allies fight bravely but fail to prevail against the might of Bal Rām's steel and strategy. The victory is hailed by the celestials with floral showers and triumphal songs.

In canto XV king Bhīṣhmak breaks the news of the allied defeat to Rukmī hoping thereby to secure his resigned consent to Rukmiṇī's marriage with Kṛṣṇa. But he succeeds only in fanning his anger. Rukmī swearing never to return without recovering his sister pursues and attacks Kṛṣṇa in isolation but is defeated and captured alive. His life is spared at Rukmiṇī's entreaties but he is disfigured and fastened to the chariot. In the meanwhile Bal Rām and his army join up. Bal Rām pleads with Kṛṣṇa for better treatment

of his wife's relation and asks him to let him off which is done. With words of wisdom and comfort Bal Rām consoles Rukmiṇī who had been feeling much distressed at her brother's humiliation. The party then proceeds to Dvārakā. In order not to break his oath Rukmī founds a new town Bhojkat for himself.

Canto XVI describes the joyous reception of Bal Rām and Kṛṣṇa and their triumphal march through the main streets of Dvārakā. Thereafter preparations are made for the celebrations of the marriage ceremony which is attended amongst others by gods and sages. After marriage the royal couple is led into the harem.

In canto XVII Bal Rām recounts to the king the details of the events at Kundinpur culminating in their final victory over the allied enemies. The residence of Kṛṣṇa's mother Devakī is visited by Gaurī, Śacī and other divine ladies who all have come to confer their choicest blessings on Rukminī.

Then follows a description of the joyous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Rukmini and her companions which is continued in Canto XVIII. Canto XIX describes the growing passion of the lovers as it progresses through the six seasons of the year. In Canto XX Kṛṣṇa, like Śiva in Kālidāsas' Kumārasambhava, tries to sound the sincerity of Rukmiṇī's affection for him by talking disparagingly of himself. Canto XXI describes in brief the tale of the Bhāgavata and is intended to serve as an auspicious conclusion to the Rukmiṇī-Pariṇaya.

The work is a production of deliberate art. The poet has developed to the utmost all the potential situations of the Bhāgavata and added every possible material that could conveniently fit in within the frame-work of the story there with the result that the more or less matter-of-fact tale of the original has been transformed into a full-fledged mahākāvya answering the most orthodox type. The first

four cantos deal with matter that is not found in this particular context in the Bhāgavata, nor have the contents of the last five any direct relevancy to the story in the original though they embody beautiful specimen of the poetry of love and nature in the description of which the poet is no doubt a past-master. Cantos VI & VIII which are exclusively occupied with Nārad's description of the personal charms of the hero and the heroine respectively are also foreign to the original as also is the account of the march of Śiśu Pāl's marriage party to Kundinpur. The battle account which covers only nine stanzas in the Bhāgavata is disproportionately extended to cover more than two full cantos. Again quite good space is devoted to the description of the marriage-scene which is disposed of in the Bhāgavata in a single phrase. Kṛṣṇa's journey to Kundinpur, his meeting with Rukmiṇī's father and his people, Rukmiṇī's account

as she waited for Kṛṣṇa's news, her worship of Gaurī and her dramatic emergence from the temple are all elaborately described. In fact the poet has fully availed of every possible opportunity to display his great power of description. These additions and elaborations have no doubt considerably heightened the poetic qualities of the work.

It must be conceded that from a purely poetical point of view RP is a far superior production. It has been planned on a much larger scale and the plan has been worked out with utmost care and elaboration. Every situation capable of yielding effect has been thoroughly utilized. It is mostly free from the crudity of language and style from which SS undoubtedly suffers. Its contents are richer and more refined.

But Ālam's virtues lie in a different direction. He may not be as scholarly and masterly in his display as the royal author of RP but he certainly knows the art of story telling much better. He is seldom

guilty of overdoing while the author of RP, fully after the fashion of the poets of the Rīti School, is seldom free from it. He would never sacrifice the interests of the narrative for mere ostentation. His genuine and primary interest lies in the plot which to the author of RP is nothing more than a slender excuse for getting together long and winding descriptions often full of immense poetic and lyrical beauty but without much narrative interest. Again the intense human interest which characterizes the tale in SS and the restricted use of the super-natural in it contrast refreshingly with the ultra super-natural virtues of the deified characters of RP. Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī as also Bal Rām in the latter are all divine incarnations and as such many of their doings do not carry us completely with them. Bal Rām brings back to life all his soldiers slain in the battle by his nectar-

pouring looks. Kṛṣṇa[*1] on his return to Dvārakā is able to greet separately and yet simultaneously all the persons gathered there to give him ovation so much so that each one of them feels that he alone has been the recipient of Kṛṣṇa's best attention.[*2] The author of SS without taking away from the divinity of his characters, refrains from creating such a disproportionate gap between them and the human world.

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*1

कृपा सिंधु बलराय, अमृत वर्षिनि दृष्टिसों ।
लीन्ह्यो सबनि जिआय, जै संगरमहं संहरे ।।

सर्ग १४, पृ० १५८

*2

किये तहाँ हरिरुप अपारा । मिले सबनसों एकहिं वारा ।।
प्रथक प्रथक पुरवासी जान्यो । हमहीं को यदुवर बहु मान्यो ।।

सर्ग १६, पृ० १८६

6. Kṛṣṇāyan & Śyām-Sanehī.

The theme of the marriage of Rukminī and Kṛṣṇa has also been treated in a recent and important work, the Kṛṣṇāyan of Śrī Dwarkā Prasād Miśra which is an exhaustive and complete account of the life and doings of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, very much on the lines of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasī Dās . Like its prototype it is divided into seven books or Kāṇdas; the language is also Avadhī and the only metres employed throughout the poem are Caupāī, Dohā and Soraṭhā which are also the dominating metres of the Rāmāyaṇa. The marriage episode forms part of the third book styled as Dvārakā-Kāṇda and is treated in pages 236-254.

The beginning is rather abrupt commencing with the arrival of the Brāhmaṇ messenger from Kundinpur . The story thereafter follows the Bhāgavata which is in fact the poets' main, if not the exclusive ,

source of the whole plot of the poem. The description of Rukmiṇī's march to the temple and of ther personal charm just on the eve of her departure from the temple after worship, as also that of the fight between the Yādavas and the allies and the final clash between Rukma and Kṛṣṇa are all on the lines of the Bhāgvata. Points of difference between the two are not many but they are of far-reaching effect. In the Bhāgavata the Brāhmaṇ has been definitely entrusted by the Rukmiṇī with a message for Kṛṣṇa while the impression in Kṛṣṇāyan is as if he was carrying on at his own instance without specific authority from any quarter. His delivery also is unconvincing and unemotional. This situation could have been obviously harnessed for yielding richer poetic effect. The description of Rukmaṇī's beauty is less erotic and therefore naturally more acceptable. One omission, however, is big. It is strange that Kṛṣṇa while

in Kundinpur is keen to send a messenger to the distant city of Hastināpur to gather news about the sons of Pāṇḍu but forgets to arrange to send the Brāhmaṇ to Rukmiṇī to announce to her the news of his arrival in the city. This is rather unfair to the Princess and also seriously detracts from the genuineness of Kṛṣṇa's emotion.

Kṛṣṇāyan even more than its model, the Bhāgawata, suffers in comparison with SS. Omission of all the earlier details/upto the appearance of the Brāhmaṇ in Dvaraka has reduced it to a mere torso. The failure to make full use of the opportunity that the letter afforded for frank and effective expression of Rukmiṇī's love is poetically a disadvantage. And so is the omission of the dinner-scene, the marriage-scene and the scene filled with tragic irony of Śiśu Pāl's return to Canderī.

Perhaps a more serious loss is the omission of the description of the Princess

awaiting the return of the Brāhmaṇ with some news from Kṛṣṇa. Another opportunity of effective description has been missed by the failure to develop the scene of Kṛṣṇa's entry into the city of Kundinpur. The description of Rukmiṇī's beauty is effectively handled but it suffers from the same defects as its counter-part in the Bhāgawata. As regards the other features in SS which are Ālam's own creation they are naturally wanting in Kṛṣṇāyan which at least so far as this particular episode is concerned, is nothing more than a mere conventinal imitation of the Bhāgawata.

The limitations of space necessarily involved in the treatment of a big subject like the detailed history of Kṛṣṇa's life has made the author skip over details which would have detained another poet with a plan less ambitious but more concentrated. And the result is a much weaker impression of

both Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa than even their counter parts in the Bhāgawata. Kṛṣṇa in Kṛṣṇāyan in this present episode is no better than a mere adventurer who undertakes to rescue the Princess not because he loves her or because he has a soft feeling for her but primarily because it would give him an excuse to defeat his foes and thus add to the prestige of his family as had been planned by Nārad. Again immediately on his arrival in Kundinpur he shows great concern about the Pāṇḍavas and arranges to send Akrūr to get him authentic news about them. But he shows absolutely no concern regarding Rukmiṇī who should have been the first claim on his attentions. The glimpse of Rukmiṇī's character also is feeble. Her love for Kṛṣṇa lacks warmth and ardour. It has been worked up, as the implication is, by the tales of Nārad and is very much different from a confirmed passion resulting from a number of coordinating factors as in SS.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SYĀM-SANEHĪ (Language, style and Metre)

1. Language and Style.

Ālam like many of his contemporaries has successfully employed both Avadhi and Braj. The language of SS and MK is Avadhī while that of AK is Braj. The variety is not so much due to the poet's mere desire to show off his skill in more than one dialect as to his requirements of style and subject matter. Braj as illustrated by both usage and traditions of the Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya school, is admirably suited to the expression of devotional or erotic love through the medium of Khaṇḍa or Muktaka-Kāvya but it hardly fits in with the needs of a Prabandha-Kāvya for which Avadhī has proved to be a more effective vehicle. This is obvious from the fact that while Padmāvat, ~~Akharavat,~~ Rām-carit-mānas, and the entire host of literature under Ākhyāna-Kāvya are written in Avadhī, there are only few Prabandha Kāvyas of merit in Braj. The Rām-candrikā of Keśav Dās is

obviously a failure and the Rukmiṇī-Pariṇaya of Raghurāj Sinh is more in the nature of an exception than illustrative of the rule.

Again Avadhī as illustrated by usage is better adapted to the lilt of Caupāīs and Dohās while the longer and heavier metres like Ghanakṣarī, Chappaya, Savaiyā, Kavitta etc., are more successfully handled in Braj. Ālam understood his needs and varied his language with them.

The language of SS is Avadhī. Ālam's Avadhī is influenced by the western form of it which is chiefly the language of the tract from Lucknow and Cawnpore to Kanauj, while its eastern form is chiefly spoken in the area adjoining Ayodhya and Gonda. This dialect is much nearer to Braj with which it shares more points of vocabulary and grammar than the eastern dialect of it. To consider only a few peculiarities the pronouns कौन, जो, वह under Māgadhī or Ardha-Māgadhī influence become कै, जै, सै or तै in Eastern

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Avadhī while in the Western dialect they become कौ, जौ, सौ like Braj obviously under Śaurasenī influence. In Eastern Avadhī they do not undergo any change before the post-positions eg के कर, केहि कर, जेहि मंह, तेहि सन, etc while in Western Avadhi they become का, जा and ता respectively eg का कर, जा कर, ता कर , The following instances from SS will suffice to show that Ālam has employed Western Avadhī forms of these pronouns:-

क्रिस्न भगतु जो स्रोता होई ।
कथा सुनत सुखु पावै सोई ।। 3. 15-16
कंठ पाठ अच्छर जो आवै ।
हस्त चित्र सो लिख दिखलावै ।। 8. 5-6
जो गुन गंग गोम्ती परसै ।
सो गुनु मात पिता के दरसै ।। 11. 1-2
सुरपति जहां प्रवेसु न पावै ।
मोरि चाह लै को पहुंचावै ।। 75. 9-10
जो किछु पढी जनक की धीया । 8. 15
सो विद्या सब विप्र पढाई ।। 8. 17
सो पावै दुहु लोक बढाई । 113. 9
भ्रिग जो केहरि सिउं पशु रोपहि । 44. 5
जोइ सुनै सो मन मदि रोवै । 41. 7

Simple verbal forms in Eastern Avadhi usually end in ब eg. आउब, जाब, करब, हंसब In Western Avadhī like Braj they end in न eg आवन, जान, करन, कहन etc.,

SS employs Western Avadhī forms of Verbs:-

आग्या भंजन दरसु जतु	11. 4
बात कहन कहुं जो अंगसैं	43. 3
बहुत लिखन को समो न पायो	62. 1
जीवन मरन आहि दुइ नैरे	92. 14
बेंचहु पठनु न पैठनि पावै	118. 2
तब लगु उठनु न पाइयो	135. 6

Again the future indicative in-b-which is a feature of Eastern Avadhī is absent. And the future indicative in हि, of Eastern Avadhi- which in that dialect progressively changes into इ, which again coalescing with the preceeding इ become ई --ends in है (हैं pl. हौं IS) in Western Avadhī as in Braj eg करिहै, सुनि है, मिलि है etc.

Ālam's usages again conforms to the rules of Western Avadhī eg:-

जो इह बात चित मै धरिहै ।
कउतिक रूप कलह कछु करिहै ॥ 111. 1-2
ज्यों ज्यों ध्वजा निहारिहै । 15. 16
छिन महि आइ प्रकासि है ॥ 93. 18
चरन कमल जौ बेगि न ऐहैं ।
अंखियां पुर ढरि समुद समैहैं ॥ 64. 11-12
राजा सभै बराती ऐहैं ।
बढि बडाई दुहुं दिसि दैहैं ॥ 114. 7-8
जब हि क्रिस्न रथु साजि मंगैहैं ।
हम सभ काज तिहारे ऐहैं ॥ 112. 9-10
बिरचि वीर कमैलनि धैहैं ।
ते सभ बान काख महि लैहैं ॥ 100. 9-10
जौ हरि दरसनु दिवस न पैहीं ।
सुलगि स्याम हुइ रैनि समैहीं ॥ 91. 11-12
बरि बुझाइ ह्वै राख उडैहीं ।
द्वारावती पवन संग जैहीं ॥ 92. 3-4

Out of the three Genitive post-positions कै, कर (-क) केर, the first two are found in both Eastern and Western Avadhī while केर (=Braj केरो) is peculiar to Western Avadhī alone. In SS we find all the three forms in use eg.

राखिन कछु सूर के कांती 16. 2
काटहु तनु दरपन के काई 25. 16
छाटी किरन गंग के धारी 22. 4

मांगहु दूब कनिक के थारी 37. 1

प्रात होत रुकमनि के धाईं 35. 7

भीखमसैन राउ कर नाऊं 3. 18

चांद सूर कर कउनु निहोरा 9. 12

चउथ जाम जामिनि करि आयो 69. 1

निरखे पालकी धाइल बैरी 142. 15

Regarding other post-positions Ālam shows exceeding fondness for the use of सिउं for सौ or सन of the Instrumental and Ablative:-

रुकम कुंवर सिउं करहि मिताईं 10. 6

एकन सिंउ हठि वैरु जनावै

एकन सिउं हित प्रीत बनावै 10. 13-14

रथ सिउं रथ दंतनि सिउं दंती

सूरनि सिउं सूरनि की पंती

पाइक सिउं पाइक भल जुरईं

जीवन इक सिउं एक न मुरईं 138. 11-14

The use of कउं for कहं is also met with:-

चारि पुत्र राजा कउं दए

कछु विधा रुकमनि कउं देहू

The Avadhī forms of the Past Indicative

of जाना to go and होना to be are गा and भा respectively. The corresponding forms in Braj are गो and भो . Ālam has employed both Avadhī and Braj forms thus again confirming strong Braj influence in his language eg:-

चकि चउंधो भै गो विसमाई 97.6
काटो कुंभ मूंड गा बाँची 134.16
दूलह भो ससपाल 47.10
चलि गो चंदु रहे सभ तारे 129.6
नख सिख सकुचि लाज भो सोई 7.6

Thus Ālam's Avadhī is the Western form of it strongly influenced by the neighbouring dialect of Braj. It lacks the purity of Jāyasī who on the whole, perhaps studiedly, stuck to a puritanic or conservative attitude towards language. In fact Zonal distinctions had not hardened by Ālam's time. Perhaps they can never do so. It is never possible to shut out infilteration in the sphere of language. Tulasī's Avadhī has an admixture of Braj, Bundel Khaṇḍī and Bhojpurī. Keśav's Braj abounds in Bundelī words and Bihārī's is full of Avadhī usages.

Ālam's handling of his language is not always above question. In a number of places he sacrifices grammar for mere metrical exigency and the fact that he shares this laxity with many others is no great solace. His language lacks the austere purity of Jāyasī and the perfect grace and polish of Tulasī Dās, though he shares in partial intensity, the idealism of both. Its simplicity sometimes borders on almost ruggedness. But the true virtue of a language, after all, lies in its expressiveness. And it must be conceded that Ālam's language possesses in abundance the capacity to draw up a complete picture with a few strokes and immense power to convey sentiment. How sublime, to begin with is the description of God's concern for his creation:-

गज से थूल चींट से हीने ।
प्रभु पोखत [illegible] किनु सुधि लीने ।।
गज नहि थूल चींट नहि हीनी ।
एक द्रिस्टि सभ पर सम कीनी ।। 3. 1-4

इत्यादि

Picturesque and poetic is the description of Rukmiṇī's youth:-

169 जोबन रूपु दीपु लियैं आवै ।
बाल वहि क्रम तिमरू नसावै ।। 25.1-2.
इत्यादि

Again complete in its own effectiveness is the description of the first reaction of Rukmiṇī's letter on Kṛṣṇa:-

170 सिथल हस्त धीरजु नहि धरई ।
पत्री छूटि छूटि मुंह परई ।
व्याकुल जस बिसहर बिसु चढई ।
छाती बरै को पाती पढई ।।
हियैं तरक्त नैननि जल सरवहु ।
कागदु भो कासी को करवहु ।। 78. 9-14

Among other numerous instances of the pictorial quality of Ālam's language may be mentioned the description of Dvārakā , the scene after Gaurī's worship the battle-scene, and the seene of marriage. The description of moon-rise in St. 89 and that of the rising sun in St. 121 are also quite pretty and imaginative. The description of Kṛṣṇa's entry into Kundinpur (St.127-130) is brilliant

and would compare favourably with similar descriptions of admittedly greater poets:-

सुर नर ब्रिद्ध तरुन अउ बारे ।
देखत भए चित्रगति सारे ।।
सुतहित भूलि जननि कहिं जाईं ।
बालक देखि विसारहि माईं ।।
थिर थिर जस पीपल दल करही ।
पाछल पांउ न आगै धरही ।। 104. 7-12
000 000 0000
जिह देखा तिह बक्त न आवा ।
जिह बकना तिह चुप न सुहावा ।। 104. 15-16
बारक चितै सीसु जिनि नायो ।
झूमि परयो सिरु फिरि न उचायो ।। 105. 1-2

The apt and appropriate use of the figures of speech is an admirable quality of Ālam's style. His figures tend to enrich his ideas and add charm and vividness to his diction. They are not employed for their own sake but appear as natural growths and are neither forced nor laboured. The main sentiment is not permitted to be hindered by them. Here is a pretty instance of the figure Ullekha

describing peoples' reaction at Krsna's sight:-

भगतनि मिलि भगवानु बखाने ।
कामिनी कामरूप पहिचाने ।। 106. 7-8

000 000 000

जोगनि जोगेस्वरु करि लेख्यौ ।
रोगनि मूरि संजीवनि देख्यौ ।। 106.11-12

000 000 000

अय अपनी मतिजिह जसि आई ।
तिह तस देखे कुँवर कन्हाई ।। 106.15-16

Rukmiṇī describes her condition in the letter to Krsna in a fitting hyperbole:-

कैसे प्रान रहत घट ताके ।
मै पंछी कंपत साखा के ।।
छिनक कंठ छिन रसना माहीं ।
स्वास हिंडोलै आवहि जाहीं ।। 59. 7-10

Many other happy instances of this figure are found in 61 .5-6; 72.1-2 etc etc.

A striking instance of Asamgati describes Krsna's condition on receipt of Rukmiṇī's letter:-

बालक बिरह कुँवरि तनु तायो ।
है के तरुन कान्ह तन पायो ।। 80. 11-12

बिरह डंक दे डसी कुमारी ।

तिह बिख बिसुध भए बनवारी ।। 80.13-14

Many more figures of sense are found equally effectively employed, notable among them being Utprekṣā (6.5-6; 74.1-2; 124.1-2; 125.1-2 etc), Apahnuti (61.7-8 etc), Yathā-Samkhya (99.5-6 etc), Bhrāntimān(106 13-14 etc) and Anyokti (52.13-14 etc).

Of the figures of sound he shows frequent fondness for Anuprāsa and Yamaka but in case of both the alliterative effect is neither aimed nor achieved at the cost of sense. In mere wordy tumult he has little faith. For instance in

गहो ग्राह गज कथा बतावै ।

गज मोचन गुन गजगति गावै ।। 26.5-6

and

भगत निरन्तर भगतहित भगतबछल भगवान । 93.17

sonorous language far from smothering the sense only lends charm to it. Ālam has throughout been able to maintain due proportion between sound and sense.

2. Metre.

We find six types in all used in SS, four of which are measured by syllabic instants and two by number of syllables. The opening stanza is a chappaya containing four feet of Rolā of 24 syllabic instants each and two of Ullālā of 28 each. It is followed by three stanzas of Bhujaṅga-prayāta which are counted as one unit. Each pāda in the stanza consists of 12 syllables, the scheme being U-- U-- U-- U--. There after we have till the end of the poem in almost a regular scheme, a Dohā or Doharā alternating with 11 ardhālis' or Dwipadīs, considered as a single unit termed as caupaī. The only exceptions to the scheme are a single Soraṭhā (No.75) and a Kavitta (Manaharan) 86

This scheme of Dohās and caupaīs is no innovation of Ālam. It is infact very old. Long before this period it had been cultivated for centuries by the Jain writers of Apabhramśa narrative and had apparently been in demand ever since then. Ālam's age no doubt, showed particular fondness for this form of verse.

His stalwart predecessor Jāyasī had already proved the potential virtues of this form which became the sole vehicle with all the Sūfī writers of romances. In fact this metrical scheme as illustrated by the immortal Mānas, is perfectly suited to the genius of Avadhī especially for purposes of Prabandha-Kāvya.

The formation of Dohā in SS is on the whole regular, each odd pāda consisting of 13 syllabic instants and each even pāda of 11 syllabic instants. Occasionally there is a seeming irregularity when a short syllable followed by a conjunct consonent has to be regarded short against the rules but normally in such cases there is not much emphasis on the preceeding syllable.

The word Caupaī has been used throughout for Caupāī though modern terminology would distinguish between them as names denoting two different schemes. Caupaī is used for a scheme of 15 syllabic instants in a pāda which ends wihh a short syllable preceeded

by a long one.* Each pāda in caupāī on the other hand consists of 16 syllabic instants and besides other things it should not end with a short syllable preceded by a long one(गुरु लघु) The last two syllables, however, may both be short or long.

A Caupāī, as a rule, should consist of four such pādas or quarters or we may say two ardhālis or Dwipadīs. But Ālam like other writers of Ākhyāna-Kāvya recognized a caupāī as synonymous with an ardhāli consisting of two pādas of the regular scheme. He has made a unit of 11 ardhālis which number, in a few instances has been increased to 12,13 and even 14. Such instances, however, are rare.

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* तिथि कल सोहै चौपाई छन्द ।
अन्त गुरु लघु देत अनान्द ।।
कल सोलह जहँ सदा सुहावै ।
जा के अन्त ज ता नहि भावै ।।
सम सम विषम विषम सुखदाई ।
फणिपति ताहि कहैं चौपाई ।।

As to the general scheme Ālam has not always been able to observe with meticulous care the rule regarding either the number of syllabic instants or the final endings. For instance in

जो हरि हनै हरि हि मिलि गए ।
घाइल घालि पालकी लए ।। 142.5-6

and

परत साँभ हय गय कलमले ।
आप आप कीं दुइ दल चले ।। 141.13-14

the number of syllabic instants is only 15 and the rule relating to the final ending is also violated. In

मात पिता आग्या मन धरे ।
सो संतति तीरथ कब करे ।। 10.19-20

again we have a long syllable preceded by a short one (लघुगुरु) at the end. So also in

घन वन मोर सावकी कुहकी ।
बानी एक भँइ इन दुहु की ।। 9.5-6

Such instances are many but they do not in any way detract from Ālam's metrical skill. This kind of laxity is normally shared by all the literary languages which are not greatly removed from

their spoken counter-parts.

Again in many places Ālam betrays anxiety to meet metrical necessity even at the cost of grammatical accuracy. For instance in

तब दसरथ घरि दीपक रामा ।
अब बसुदेव मँदिर चंद्रामा ।। 31. 9-10

and

कीनसि घाइ लाइ भुज भला ।
ढारिसि रुधिर कँवर जुड़ चला ।। 134. 7-8

चन्द्रमा and भाला have been forced to rhyme with रामा and चला.

There are many instances where the final short vowel has been lengthened for metrical sake, eg.

देखि मुखारविंद की कान्ती ।
निरमल सरद चाँद कै भान्ती ।। 84. 1-2

उठी रुरुहरू अन अन भाँती ।
राखिन कलसु सूर कै काँती ।। 16. 1-2

Quite frequently again words have been contracted to the same end, eg in

तिह पाछे तुरि जननी भरै 53. 7

जस पूजी मुरि दरसन आसा
पुरुख प्रबीन जु आगमु जानहिं 86.9
धारिनि रैख कजर कै कारी 111.5
रुकमु कुँवरु बैठे हुति जहाँ 120.12
इक दिसि चीर पटंबर डारै 111.8
जिह रै पित घर पुत्री होई 115.6
7.5

तुरि, मुरि, जु, कजर, हुति, पटंबर and पित are contractions from तोरी, मोरी, जो, काजर, हुते, पाटंबर and पिता respectively. Similarly forms like बसुदिव (19.15) and बसुदे (55.6) for बसुदेव and अनंदु (68.15) for आनंद are found used.

Obviously these contortions are too many to be reckoned as mere exceptions. But they are not necessarily due to Ālam's incapacity to handle effectively these simple metres. The fact of the matter is that the language itself in which he wrote had not yet acquired that rigidity which normally binds down writers in classical languages like Sanskrit.

CHAPTER IX

ĀLAM'S PLACE IN HINDĪ LITERATURE.

In the preceding chapters we have discussed in detail some of the salient qualities of Ālam as a story writer. From a comparison of SS with similar attempts on the same episode by other admittedly great poets it has been possible to vindicate his claim to genuine consideration as an artist who has keenness of observation, sobriety of outlook and judgment, restraint and dignity of diction and considerable capacity to handle effectively his characters and their emotions. In the present chapter it is intended to compare some of his stanzas with affined stanzas of other poets of established renown so as to enable the reader to arrive at a correct estimate of his poetic quality and position in Hindī Literature.

Jāyasī, the greatest of the Sūfī writers in the course of the description of Padmāvatī's beauty says:-

"बरनौं मांग सीस उपराहीं । सेंदुर अबहि चढ़ा जेहि नाहीं ।।
बिनु सेन्दुर अस जानहु दीआ । उजियर पंथ रैनि महं कीआ ।।

" कंचन रेख कसौटी कसी । जनु घन महं दामिनि परगसी ।।
सुरुज - किरिन जनु गगन बिसेखी । जमुना मांह सुरसती देखी ।। "
पद्मावत, नखशिख - खंड २.

This description of the parting line of hair may be compared with the following in MK;
" मध्य मांग चन्दनु घसि भरै । दूध धार विषधर मुख परै ।
कहुं कहुं पुष्प कहूं कहुं मोती । जनु घन मैं तारागन जोती ।। "

There is no doubt Jāyasī's account is both poetic and pleasurable but hardly less striking is that of Ālam. In fact the comparison of the parting line of hair, unadorned by sandal-paste or Sindūr dust to a line of gold on the touch-stone or to the flash of lightning in the clouds is not altogether convincing. How apt and significant on the other hand is Ālam's comparison ! The application of a streak of sandal-paste to the parting line of hair is compared to the feeding of a serpent with a stream of milk. The idea is that just as a serpents' poison is made more deadly by the milk-feed, similarly the ravishing charm of the heroine is heightened by the adorning streak of Sandal-paste.

Again the idea of the total identity of the heroines' countenance with its Upamāna as the moon, is thus expressed by both Jāyasī and Ālam.

"चकई बिछुरि पुकारै, कहां मिलौं, हो नांह ।
एक चांद निसि सरग मंह, दिन दूसर जल मांह ।। "

"गई कन्दला सरवर पासा । चकही जान्यौ चंद्र प्रकासा ।।
चकही बिछुरि गई भ्रमि भूली । बाँधे कमल कुमुदनी फूली ।। "

Both the descriptions are very much similar and equally acceptable. There are many more instances embodying affinity of thought and expression between these two poets. The description of Kundinpur in SS, for instance, has very much in common with the account of Sinhaldvīp in Padmāvat, and so is the description of Kṛṣṇa's steeds in SS similar to the description of the royal horses in Padmāvat. In these and many other instances Ālam's indebtedness to his illustrious predecessors may be

inferred but in no instance has any idea or its phraseology been slavishly taken without Ālam making his own contribution to it. Some time Ālam has strikingly improved upon the idea of his predecessor, if at all it has to be presumed that he took it from him.

Among poets of love Bihārī occupies a unique place in Hindī Literature. He is known for his capacity for terseness, brevity and condensation combined with unusual elegance. Of all the poets he believed in the necessity of fewest words for producing the greatest effect.

In fact in these qualities he is recognized as a master without a rival. ~~Th~~Here is one of Bihārī's pretty pictures of the heroine whose luxuriant beauty has dispensed with the nedd for additional adornments:-

'भूषन भारु संभारिहै क्यों यह तन सुकुमारु ।
सूधे पांव न धर परत सोभा ही के भारु ।। '

-- बिहारी-सतसई

Alam had already expressed this idea in his AK 17

'भूषन को भारु है किसोरी बैस गोरी बाल ।
तेरे तन प्यारी कोटि भूषन गुराई है ।। '

Bihārī's following descriptions of the heroine in separation

"करी बिरह ऐसी तऊ गैल न छाड़तु नीचु ।
दीनै हूं चसमा चखनु चाहै लहै न मीचु ।।"

-- बिहारी-सतसई, ५१६.

may be compared with a similar account in AK 343.

"कान्ह पयान कह्यो सजनी तिय प्रान पयान कै सै दुख पावै ।
'आलम' छीन परी मुरझाइ परी छिति नीर सखी मुख नावै ।।
सीतल ह्वै पग-पानि गये छतिया तपि कै पियरी तन छावै ।
जी हू की जानि परै न कछू सखि देखत हूं जमहू भ्रम आवै ।।"

-- आ० के० ३४३

Many more instances of the parallelism of thought and expression could be adduced. In each case the later poet's skill of description is undisputed but the effectiveness of Ālam's expression also cannot be denied. There is no doubt Bihārī has the unusual power to paint a dainty and perfect word picture within the narrow compass of a dohā and thus can admirably combine brevity with effectiveness. But though brevity may be the soul of wit, it is after all not the only essential aim or function of poetry. One of the equally important and essential functions of poetry is to produce that

pleasurable feeling of delight which necessarily is inherent in its music. Poetry is as much the art of truth and beauty as of 'musical thought'. And there are obvious limitations in the musical capacity of a dohā. That is why Ālam's effusive poetic passion and love for music refused to submit to the awkward limitations of a dohā and expressed itself through a variety of heavier and longer metres of Savaiyās, Kavittas etc. Ālam may not possess in full the daintiness or the terse suggestiveness of Bihārī but he possesses in an abundant degree that keen sense of musical delight which imparts perfect sweetness to his verse which is simply beyond Bihārī.

Dev is another great light of the Riti school. He is known for his deep scholarship, great poetic qualities and a highly finished style. Like Bihārī most of his verse is erotic in character and his descriptions of heroines are usually recognized as masterly. Ālam's effort in this direction is only limited and

he can neither claim Dev's prolificacy and erudition nor hair-splitting mastery of erotics as a science. Belonging to an earlier age he naturally had no access to most of the finished pieces of the stalwarts of the Rīti school which had not yet come into being, and had therefore to work out his pictures more or less in isolation. To compare him therefore, with Dev or Mati Rām or for that matter with any other leading exponent of the Rīti school, would be doing him little justice. But as a poet, pure and simple, who sang of the ecstasy of love, both free and divine, he can without serious disadvantage to him be placed side by side with any one of them. Here is Dev's account of the heroine of the type Pravatsyat-preyasī:-

'कल न परत, कहूं ललन चलन कह्यौ,
दवा सौ दहै देह दहक दहक - दहक ।
लगी रहै हिलकी, हलक सूख्यौ, हाले हियौ,
`देव ` कहै गर्‌यौ भर्‌यौ आवत गहक - गहक ।।
दीर्घ उसासैं लै - लै ससिमुखि सिसकति,
सुलप सलौनी लंक लहक लहक-लहक ।

मानत न बरज्यौ, सु बारिज से नैनन तें,

बारि कौ प्रवाह बह्यौ आवत बहक-बहक ।। '

With this may be compared the similar picture in AK 158.

'गौन के सुनत रही मौन भूली मौन सुधि,

फीरी परि आई थकि बीरी रही हाथ ही ।

चौंकति चकति पछिताति मुरझाति तन,

ताही छन आय उर लाय लई नाथ ही ।।

रही ही नवाय नारि पूछति पियारे के सु,

कैसे हूं कैसे हूं के उठाय उत माथ ही ।

मुख तन चिते हर बरे गहबरे गरे,

उतरु उसांसु आंसु आये एक साथ ही ।। '

The two stanzas are typical of the poetic qualities of the two poets. Though both display undoubted fondness for achieving strikingness in sense with the aid of alliterative language Ālam's load of the instruments of mere sound-effects is agreeably less than that in Dev. This moderation is a virtue and saves the sentiment from being smothered unnecessarily under the overwhelming burden of flowery language. There is no doubt an overdoing of alliteration in

दहक-दहक, गहक-गहक, लहक-लहक, बहक बहक ।

which add but little to the sense. This tendency is shared to excess by most of the writers of the school. But Ālam always claims and often achieves a balance between sound and sense. How significant is his use of the word प्राननाथ, for instance, in the following account of the heroine of the type Pravatsyat - patikā:-

"धीर तें अधीर भई पीर-नीर चीर भीजै,
सोचनि कुचनि पर लोचन बहत हैं ।
'आलम' अंदेसे ऐसे कैसे यहि बैस जीजै,
ऐसे उसांसन प्रान कैसे कै रहत हैं ॥
कहा करौं माई मेरे प्रान मेरे हाथ नहीं,
प्रान प्राननाथ साथ चल्योई चहत हैं ।
पल न लगत पल कल न परत सुनि,
आली री ललन कालि चलन कहत हैं ।।"

-- आ० कै० १६७

Ālam has created many such pictures of exquisite beauty which must ensure him an honourable place among erotic writers of repute.

Ālam's capacity to express forcefully the sentiment of devotional love is also no less marked. Here is a pretty description of Kṛṣṇa's childhood.

`देहौं दधि मधुर घरनि घर्‌यौ छौरि खैहैं,
    घाम तें निकसि धौरी धेनु धाई खोलिहैं ।
धूरि लोटि ऐहैं लपटैहैं लटकत ऐहैं,
    सुखद सुनैहैं बैनु बतियां अमोल हैं ।
`आलम` सुकवि मेरे ललन चलन सीखें,
    बलन की बांह व्रज गलिनि में डोलिहैं ।
सुदिन सुदिन दिन ता दिन गनौंगी माई,
    जा दिन कन्हैया मोसों मैया कहि बोलिहैं ।।

-- आ० कै० ४.

When we compare this ~~a~~ with the following similar stanza of the veteran poet Sūrdās we find it difficult to deny real merit to Ālam:-

मेरो नान्हरिया गोपाल हो, बेगि बड़ो किनि होहि ।
इहि मुख मधुरे बयन हो, कब `जननि` कहोगे मोहि ।।
यह लालसा अधिक दिन दिन प्रति कबहूं ईस करै ।
मो देखत कबहूं हंसि माधव पगु द्वै घरनि धरै ।।
हलधर सहित फिरै जब आंगन चरन सबद सुनि पाऊं ।
छिन छिन छुधित जानि पय कारन हौं हठि निकट बुलाऊं ।।
आगम निगम नेति करि गायो सिव उनमान न पायो ।
`सूरदास` बालक रस लीला मन अभिलाष बढ़ायो ।।

Again there is genuine pathos in the following account of Yaśodā's distress on separation from Kṛṣṇa:-

`कपिन को प्रेम देखि छाती सों लगावें छौना,
बछरु न देखै तौ लौं गैया न पेन्हाति हैं।
चिरिया की चाह देखि चों चहू में चारौ राखै,
चेटुआ की चाह बिनु सोऊ न अघाति है।
`आलम` कठिन तेरो हियो हौं सराहौं नन्द,
चन्दहि पिछौंड़ो छांड़ि लायो कारी राति है।
हम निरमोही मोही बन के पखेरु पसु,
बालक बियोगु कहूं बिपद बिहाति हैं।`

-- आ० के० २२६.

Sūr Dās's Bhramar-gīt is a masterly exposition of his polemical zeal and capacity for hair-splitting logic expressed through the charming garb of verse. Ālam also has attempted a few verses of the kind. Here is an instance of a pretty rejoinder of the Gopīs to Uddhav.

`चाहती सिंगार तिन्हैं सिंगी सौं सगाई कहा
औधि कीहै आस तौ अधारी कैसे गहिये।
बिरह अगाध तहां मुन्नि की समाधि कौन
जोग काहि भावै जु वियोग दाह दहियैं।

सेख कहै मौन मुद्रा मोहन लुताये बन
मुद्रा लाओ काननि सुनैई सूल सहिये ।
लागै लगनेकहूँ कहूँ जो बैरी नीरो होय
उधो स्ते बीच की बिचारी बात कहिये ॥"

आ. के. 206

This may be favourably compared with the following similar stanza of Sūr Dās:-

"मधुकर कौन गाँव की रीति ।
ब्रजजुबतिन को जोग कथा तुम कहत सबै बिपरीति ॥
जा सिर फूल फुलेल मेलि कै हरि कर ग्रन्थै मारी ।
ता सिर भस्म मसान को सेवन जटा करन आधारी ॥
रतन जटित ताटंक बिराजत अरु कमलन को जोति ।
तिन स्रवनन पहिराबत मुद्रा तोहिं दया नहिं होति ॥
बेसरि नाक कंठ मनि माला मुख घनसार अबास ।
तिन मुख सिंगी कहो बजावन भोजन आक पलास ॥
जा तन को मृगमद घिसि चन्दन सूक्ष्म पट पहिराए ।
ता तन को मृग अजिन पुरातन दै ब्रजनाथ पठाए ॥
बे अबिनासी ग्यान घटैगो यहि बिधि जोग सिखाए ।
कै भोग भरपूर सूर तहँ जोग करन ब्रज आए ॥"

Obviously Ālam's effort is not unworthy of real consideration. The stanza is quite full of intense human feeling and earnest passion which Ālam can always successfully

paint in telling words. Infact this quality of his verse alone would exact admiration from any critic. His minute power of observation of both man and nature and his capacity for evoking appropriate sentiment have combined to invest all his verse with enduring merit.

Again there is (in AK 252) characteristic earnestness such as we find so often in Sūr Dās and Tulasī Dās:-

सीता सव रखवारे ताराहू के गुन तारे,
तेरे हेत गौतम की तिरिया ऊ तरी है ।
हौं हूं दीनानाथ हौं अनाथपति साथ बिनु,
सुनत अनाथनि के नाथ सुधिकरी है ।।
डोले सुर आसन दुसासन की ओर देखि,
अंचल के ऐचत उघारी औरे घरी है ।
एक ते अनेक अंग धाई सेत सारी संग,
तरल तरंग भरी गंग सी ह्वै ढरी है ।।
-- आ० कै० २५२

Similarly in his description of Kṛṣṇa's march through the city of Kundinpur Ālam has admirably anticipated Tulasī's account of the reaction of the people of Mithilā at the sight of Rām and Lakṣman on the eve of Sītā's

Svayamvara. The relevant portions of the two contexts are given below:-

"जिन्ह के रही भावना जैसी । प्रभु मूरति तिन्ह देखी तैसी ।।
देखहिं रूप महा रन धीरा । मनहुं बीर रसु धरें सरीरा ।।
डरे कुटिल नृप प्रभुहिं निहारी । मनहुं भयानक मूरति भारी ।।
रहे असुर छल छोनिप बेषा । तिन्ह प्रभु प्रगट काल सम देखा ।।
पुरबासिन्ह देखे दोउ भाई । नर भूषन लोचन सुखदाई ।।
नारि बिलोकहिं हरषि हियं निज निज रुचि अनुरूप ।
जनु सोहत सिंगार धरि मूरति परम अनूप ।।"

(राम-चरित-मानस - बाल-काण्ड)

"भगतनि मिलि भगवानु बखाने ।
कामिनि कामरूप पहिचाने ।।
म्रिदु मूरति बारिन कहि मायो ।
बैरनि कलह रूप दिखरायो ।।
जोगनि जोगेस्वरु करि लेख्यो ।
रोगनि मूरि सँजीवनि देख्यो ।।
मोर बिचार नील घन बोले ।
निरमल सुर सावन के सोले ।।
आप अपनी मति जिह जसि आई ।
तिह तस देखे कुँवर कन्हाई ।।" SS 106.7-16

"कमलनि जान्यो सूर है, फूलहिं भरि मकरन्द ।
सोडस कला प्रकासियो, कुमुदनि जान्यो चन्द ।।" SS 107.1-2

The similarity in the two lines under-lined is simply remarkable. On no account can Ālam's description above be regarded inferior to that of Tulasī.

Some more points of affinity in stray stanzas, could be easily adduced to support Ālam's claim to better attention but the process is abendened lest it should give rise to a misunderstanding of the whole of our approach. Let it be clearly understood that our aim in adducing these instances which embody similar ideas similarly expressed is not to glorify Ālam or to attempt to prove that as a poet Ālam is as great as Sūr Dās or Tulasī Dās. Nothing could be more unreal or unjust than to attempt seriously to collage his poetic qualities with those of the two literary giants. The sublime heights of divine ecstasy scaled by Sūr Dās, the greatest of the poets of the Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya school, with whom the faith in the divinity of Krsna was a living reality- perhaps more real than his own real

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presence - must have been totally inaccessible to him.

And as regards Tulasī he is beyond doubt the brightest star in the firmament of Hindī Literature. A poet who could claim in full the uniformly sustained quality and the great variety of his verse has yet to come into being. Ālam could not have attained even partial greatness of his stature which could not be fully matched even by Sūr Dās.

Our only aim is to show that even though he did not write half as much as they did, and even though he did not claim in full their energetic fervour and devotional zeal, he had both talent and capacity to produce individual stanzas of merit and beauty as remarkable as that of Sūr Dās or Tulasī Dās.

Raskhān has been widely known for the sweetness of his devotional music and there is no doubt there is lot of genuine feeling in much of his verse. But no less sincere and passionate are Ālam's utterances and any of

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his stanzas can be compared favourably with an affined stanza of Raskhān. A single instance will suffice:-

"जा दिन ते निरख्यौ नंद नन्दन, कानि तजी घर-बंधन छूट्यौ ।
चारु बिलोकनि कीनीं सुनारि, सम्हार गई मन मार नैं लूट्यौ।।
सागर कौ सरिता जिमि धाइ, न रोकी रहै, कुल कौ पुल टूट्यौ।
मत्त भयौ मन संग फिरै, 'रसखान' सरूप अमी-रस घूंट्यौ ।।"

"काकी लाज काकौं डरु कौन आपु कैसो घरु,
कौन घरुबासी कछू बातें घर की कहै ।
सांस लेत हिये में सलाका ऐसी सालति है,
कान्ह चितवनि माईं नित चित कौं दहै ।
'आलम' कहै हौ पर बस न बसात कछू,
भौग हूं न छूटे दुख अति साथ ही गहै ।
पलक ते न्यारी कीनी नींदऊ बिडारि दीनी,
निसि दिन नैननि मैं बैरी बैठोई रहै ।।"

-- आ० के० १३६

That Ālam possessed effective power to evoke the sentiment of resignation also may be shown by the following instance:-

"जनमत छिति पर्यौ पलना बहुरि परि,
हाथी हय सुखासन पर्योई रहतु है ।

अरिनि के ग्रस परि बिषयनि बस परि,
जुवतिन रस परि ~~है मेरे प्यारे~~ सुखहिं चहतु है ।
तासौं तोहि परनि परी है मेरे प्यारे प्रान,
हा हा परकृत छांडि 'आलम' कहतु है ।
प्रनति सरीर सील परिबैं ही पर रुचि,
पर्योई रहतु ता तें पर्योई चहतु है ।।" आ० कै० २५४

The same idea has been expressed by another poet as below:-

" पेट में पौढ़िके पौढ़े मही पर पालना पौढिके बाल कहाए ।
आई जबै तरुनाई त्रिया संग सेज पे पौढिके रंग मचाए ।।
छीर-समुद्र के पौढ़न-हार को नेकु नहीं कबहूं चित लाए ।
पौढ़त पौढ़त पौढ़त ही सु चिता पर पौढ़न के दिन आए ।।"

Keśav in his Rām-Candrikā expresses a similar idea as below:-

" पेट चढ्यौ पलना पलका चढि पालिकिहू चढि मोह मढ्यौ रे ।
चौक चढ्यौ चित्रसारि चढ्यौ गज बाजि चढ्यौ गढ गर्व चढ्यौ रे ।।
व्योम विमान चढ्योई रह्यौ कहि केशव सौं कबहूं न पढ्यौ रे ।
चेतत नाहिं रह्यौ चढि चित्त सो चाहत मूढ़ चिताहू चढ्यौ रे ।।"

Ālam's account is in no way inferior to that of the other two.

Thus Ālam's power for versification is rich and varied. As a writer of narrative he exhibits reasonable capacity to conceive and produce a work of art. Both SS and MK though planned on a modest scale, have been carefully executed. Both bear the stamp of his artistic mind and its energetic build. Both inculcate by implication the poet's faith in true and chastened love as against mere disgruntled passion. The ideal of a sober, temperate and ordered life which found immortal expression in the Rām-Carit-Mānas of Tulasī Dās is already found reflected in SS both in the choice of its subject matter as also in its method of presentment.

As a poet of free love such as we find him in many verses of AK he has not written merely to conform to conventional standards of criticism and thus is often free from that artificiality which has been the bane of even some of the greatest exponents of the Rīti school. His pictures of love in its varied

[illegible] idea is great for versification is [illegible] and varied. As a writer of narrative [illegible] exhibits reasonable capacity to conceive [illegible] produce a work of art. Both SS and LK [illegible] planned on a modest scale, have been carefully executed. Both bear the stamp of his [illegible] mind and its energetic build. Both [illegible] by inculcating the poet's faith in [illegible] and constancy in love as against mere [illegible] position. The ideal of a sober, temperate and ordered life which found immortal expression in [illegible] already found reflected in SS both in the choice of its subject matter as also in its method of presentation.

[illegible] a poet of love such as [illegible] in many verses of LK he has not written [illegible] to conform to conventional standards of criticism and this is [illegible]

[illegible]

aspects of union, separation, longing and despair have a pleasurable freshness about them which is not very commonly found in poets who, while attempting verse believe in using more their head than their heart. Thus even though he cannot claim to have attained the degree of poetic scholarship of Dev or Kesav or for the matter of that other Ācāryas of the Rīti School, he can certainly claim a heart which was richly sensitive to the minutest excitement of poetic imagination and he had the power to forcefully express it through proper language and imagery. He may have lacked the terse suggestiveness and the exquisite beauty of the finely turned phrase such as Bihārī shows but he certainly excelled him in the variety and music of his verse as also in the versatility of his genius.

As a writer of devotional verse he displays abundant passion, sincerity and earnestness and remarkable power to evoke sentiment. Many of his verses would easily compare with

the best of many other great poets. The circumscribed nature of his canvas, however, would not make it fair to rank him with Sūr or Tulasī who would crush him, besides many other things, by the sheer weight of their yield. But it would be equally unfair to deny him credit and partial greatness for having been able to produce individual stanzas of challenging merit. He does not and cannot claim a position amongst the top-ranking luminaries of our literature but he is easily the best of those who are ranked in the second line. In our opinion Ālam's real greatness has yet to be properly assessed by the critic. Most estimates of him so far have been written without first-hand knowledge of all of his works and therefore actually fall short of an accurate appraisement of his real merit. A close study of AK, SS and MK would convince any reader that Ālam deserves a recognition much better than has so far been accorded to him.

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